

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

THIS part was passed by the general editors in autumn 1973 and has been delayed in printing by difficulties outside the control of both editors and printer. They ask here for the reader's indulgence.

The literary texts (3151–3162) have all been edited by Dr M. W. Haslam. Special mention should be made of 3151, the *Aἶας Λοκρός* of Sophocles, new dramatic fragments of capital interest. First work on these tantalizing pieces was done by Mr E. Lobel, who assembled them by the criterion of handwriting and provided a transcript and partial commentary on some of the larger fragments (see p. xii). But the important joins which make fr. 2 into the exciting discovery it is were first remarked by Dr Haslam. We should also like to call attention to his edition of the new musical fragments 3161 and 3162.

Dr Haslam has edited two of the documents (3200, 3203). But the main burden of work on the many documents in this part (3163–3195, 3197–3204) has been shouldered by Drs A. K. Bowman, J. C. Shelton and J. D. Thomas. It would be invidious to single out particular contributions, but the following remarks are in place. Dr Bowman's contribution includes 19 (see Concordance p. xii) of the 24 unpublished documents from Oxyrhynchus which he listed in *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology xi, 1971), Appendix iv, and the contents of which were exploited in that study. Of the other texts listed in that appendix nos. 11, 15, 18, 24 will appear in Part xlv; nos. 6 and 19 are held over. Dr Shelton has addressed himself to several long and dry registers, of which there are many in the Oxyrhynchus collection still awaiting publication. 3197, edited by Dr J. D. Thomas, is a legal instrument of outstanding sociological value.

3205–3208 give the Greek text of literary and documentary papyri already published in periodicals. We salute especially Professor Świderek's land register (3205) and Dr V. Brown's Latin letter (3208).

Invaluable help in the correction of the proofs has been given by Dr W. E. H. Cockle. During the thorough cleaning that preceded the mounting of the papyri for photography he has also here and there recovered a few additional letters. Where these could not be inserted in the printed transcript (this is especially the case in 3152) they have been collected in Addenda and Corrigenda (p. xiii).

The Cambridge University Printer has taken very considerable pains to ensure accuracy and to meet the exacting requirements of the general editors. Special sorts (e.g. dots under Greek capital letters, square rough breathings, abbreviation sigla) have been added by hand at the conclusion of machine composition, and the whole then printed by lithography. This method has called for three sets of proofs.

October 1975

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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¹ All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated.

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AKB = A. K. Bowman
 VB = Virginia Brown
 MWH = M. W. Haslam
 FCP = F. C. Philips

JCS = J. C. Shelton
 JWS = J. W. Shumaker
 AS = Anna Świderek
 JDT = J. D. Thomas

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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CONCORDANCE TABLES (cf. Preface p. v)

Bowman P. Oxy. ined.	1 = 3171	13 = 3192
	2 = 3189	14 = 3173
	3 = 3177	15 = xlv 3244
	4 = 3191	16 = 3188
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10 = 3176		22 = 3184
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- 3152** In the process of cleaning Dr W. E. H. Cockle has recovered a few more traces of ink (usually by turning over a small fold in the papyrus). The following points are worth recording: 278 the left margin has]ά 360 read αλλο γ[ιγνεται 362b there is a middle stop after άεε 391 read της εμ[ε 392 read ερω]ε ετρωσε[ν 442],[the trace of ink is above the rho of 443 444 read]μ[ε[τερχε]τα[ι 595 read προδοτος 598 read δραε[ε]μ 600 read νν
- 3155** Dr Cockle remarks on l. 398 (p. 40): 'Since the stichometric Δ is at line 398, is it not more likely that two "plus-verses" existed in the roll before this point? "Plus-verses" are attested at 5a, 21a, 21b, 78a.'
- 3161** introd. The Oslo texts are published in *Symbolae Osloenses* 31 (1955), 1-87.
- 3167**, l. 79 The following critical apparatus should be added:
1 επεσταλ 18 ∠δ 22 επιδεδωκ
- 3174**, 16 p. 121 add at the end of the last sentence of the note: 'especially as an iambic trimeter is expected'.
- 3179**, p. 134 the following critical apparatus should have been placed below the text:
1 διεσταλ, γενημδ, διελ εδ 2 δεκαπρωτ 3 θηε', θεμδ 4 επιν', πολ 5 γτ-, κολ
6 εεεη-
- 3180** the following critical apparatus should have been placed below the text:
1 αδ 3 διεγδ αυρηλ, τωκ 4 απηλ το' αυρηλ 5 βδ ζενγ- λη- 6 ενε[ε]τωτ αδ δραχ'
7 γδκη αυρηλ, εεεη-
- 3181**, p. 135 the following critical apparatus should have been placed below the text:
1 μεμετ, δη-+γενη-, διελ αδ 1. Τρεβωνιανοῦ 2 μ in Οὐελδουμανοῦ corrected from δ
3 θηε' απηλ το) 4 θε- 5 -θ∠αδχδ/αρτ 6 χο'- δ- αυρ' διον- δεκα), ζωιλ τουκ Cαpα' εεεη-
7 δθηε' ψωβθ, θε- 8 θε- -, α- εεεη-
- 3190**, p. 154 Note 4, the second sentence should be altered to read: 'It is usually assumed to mean "lawyer", but in a note to P. Beatty Panop. 1, 252 Skeat suggested that the term perhaps refers to a nome official, because he was involved in the organization of postal services by a riverboat (252) and in the transport of hides for repairs to a fort (386).'

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

I. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

3151. SOPHOCLES, *Αἴας Λοκρός* (AND OTHER PLAYS?)

Second/third century

The text of these evidently tragic fragments, which were assembled by Mr Lobel, is written in a plain, slightly sloping hand which I believe is the same as that responsible for XXV 2427 (Epicharmus), ascribed to the later second or early third century. Variations in the style of handwriting, as in the case of 2427, suggest that more than one manuscript may be represented, but it seems quite possible that such variations as there are, which do not form clear-cut groupings, could have occurred in the course of copying a single play. I have adopted the working hypothesis that the fragments represent only one play because the internal evidence is compatible with that assumption; and although the two biggest fragments show a certain mutual disparity of style, both lend themselves to ascription to one and the same play. But the possibility of the alternative must be freely acknowledged. Furthermore, when a single hand has been identified in more than one new work of literature, only special circumstances can enable the small fragments without any particular character to be assigned to their proper work. Parts of 2427 and 3151 may have been wrongly distributed between the items. This applies particularly to the smaller scraps of 3151 that may contain lyric passages in Doric, or those scraps of 2427, the dialect of which cannot be determined and which are otherwise without discriminant.

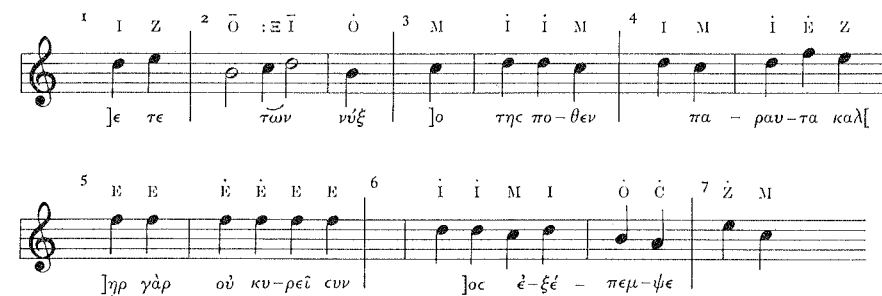
On the hypothesis of a single play, ascription to the *Αἴας Λοκρός* of Sophocles is made cogent by the combined evidence of the two most sizeable pieces. Marginal *notae personae* in fr. 1 identify one of the speakers as *Αἴας*, Ajax; that he is the Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, is suggested by the word *Λοκρῶν* spoken by him at 1 ii 16. Fr. 2 has the beginning of a passionately angry speech by Athena (again identified in the margin) to the Argives, apparently concerning the upsetting of her image by Ajax when he violated Cassandra's sanctuary in the temple of Athena during or just after the sack of Troy. The only play known or supposed to have figured Ajax and to have treated of this incident is the *Αἴας Λοκρός*, and the remaining fragments accommodate themselves more or less readily to this attribution.

Identified characters besides Ajax and Athena are Talthybius at 4. 14 (Ivβi pap.) and a certain -cao() at 4. 8, whom I give reasons in the note *ad loc.* for supposing to be Helicaon, son of Antenor. The presence of Helicaon in the *Αἴας Λοκρός* had not and would not reasonably have been guessed at, but since it is known that mention was made in the play of the leopard-skin that was hung outside Antenor's house (fr. 11 Pearson), it need not occasion much surprise. Just what part he plays is left obscure.

That there was an epiphany of Athena is a further new piece of information about the play, and the lines the goddess is assigned in the papyrus constitute the most substantial

existing rhythmical pattern. It might then be admissible, by rhythmizing $\Xi\bar{I}$ not as ♩ but as ♩ (I use the crotchet as the *χρόνος πρώτος*), to reduce it to the length of a normal long syllable.

A transcription in modern staff notation is appended. It follows the usual conventions. Bar lines mark off supposed metra.



V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3163. GRAIN RECEIPT

36 4 B. 92/H (14-15)b

7.5 × 19 cm.

16 July A.D. 72

Receipt for 46 art. 8 ch. of wheat delivered to the granary at Seryphis by a tenant farmer to pay taxes owed there by his two landlords. The document is signed by three unidentified persons, presumably associates or staff of the sitologus of line 4, and by an *ἐπισφραγιστής*.

- Ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπεὶφ κβ.
 μεμέ(τηνται) εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) διὰ Διογέν(ους)
 5 καὶ μετόχ(ων) ci(τολόγων) λιβὸς τοπ(αρχίας) Cερύφ(εως)
 τόπ(ων) παρὰ Μνησιθέου καὶ Διον()
 ἀμφοτέρων Θεώνος διὰ
 Ἰσοκράτους γεωρ(γοῦ), Cερύφ(εως),
 πυροῦ (τριμήνου) c(ύνπαντι) δη(μοσίῳ) μέ(τρῳ) ξ(υστῶ) κ(αγκέλλῳ)
 ἀρτά-
 10 βας τεσσεράκοντα ἐξ
 χοί(νικας) ὀκτῶ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) μς χοί(νικες) η.
 (m. 2) Παράς
 cεσημείωμαι (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) μς χοί(νικας) η.
 (m. 3) Cιζοῦχος cεσημείωμε
 ἀρτάβας τεσσεράκοντα
 15 ἐξ χύνικες ὀκτό. (m. 4) Πτολεμαῖ(ος)
 cεσημείωμαι (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τεc(ς)αράκον-
 τα ἐξ χοί(νικας) ὀκτώ,
 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μς χοί(νικες) η. (m. 5) Ἀμμῶνις
 καὶ οἱ μέτοχο(ι) ἐπισφραγ(ισταὶ) cυνεπε-
 20 κολουθήκαμεν ταῖς τοῦ πυροῦ
 ἀρτάβας τεσσεράκοντα ἐξ χοί-
 νι{γ}κες ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) μς χοί(νικες) η.

13 l. cεσημείωμαι 15 l. χοί(νικας 19 l. cυνεπηκολουθήκαμεν 21 l. ἀρτάβαις; χοί(νικας)

'Year three of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, Epeiph 22. Measured into the State granary through Diogenes and associate sitologi of the districts about Seryphis of the Western toparchy, from Mnesitheus and Dion(), both sons of Theon, acting through their tenant, Isocrates, to pay dues for Seryphis, forty-six artabas eight choenices altogether of three-month wheat measured by levelled public cancellus measure; total, 46 art. 8 ch. (m. 2) I, Parais, have signed for 46 art. 8 ch. of wheat. (m. 3) I, Sisuchus, have signed for forty-six artabas eight choenices. (m. 4) I, Ptolemaeus, have signed for forty-six artabas eight choenices of wheat, total 46 art. 8 ch. wheat. (m. 5) We, Ammonis and my associate sealing supervisors, have verified the forty-six artabas eight choenices of wheat, total 46 art. 8 ch. wheat.'

4 μεμέ(τρηται): or perhaps μεμέ(τρηται), which is written in full in XXXVIII 2872 and in two receipts soon to be published by R. A. Coles, despite a plurality of artabas in each case; a parallel among money receipts would then be found in such texts as XXXIV 2716-17, διεγράφη... δραχμας. But comparable Fayum receipts using the aorist regularly conjugate the verb correctly; cf. e.g. P. Théad. 26. 6.

4-10 μεμέ(τρηται)... ἀρτάβας: for accusative after the passive verb cf. P. Cair. Isid. 45. 7 note.

9 (πυροῦ) (τριμήνου) κτλ.: cf. XXXVIII 2841. 8 note.

ς(ύνπαντι): sc. λόγω; cf. P.S.I. VII 733. 17 note. The grammatically inexplicable σύνπαντα preferred in similar contexts in XII 1447. 4 note is supported only by the editor's revision of II 287. 6 as [ς]ύνπαντα, a reading which assumes that the final trace of the word is a needlessly raised α in the 'Hakenalpha' form. But the original interpretation of this trace as a simple abbreviation stroke is unobjectionable, so that here too [ς]ύνπαντ(ι) should be read.

3164. PETITION FROM A PRIEST (?)

30 4 B. 41 C/(1-4)b

13.0 × 15.5 cm.

4 September A.D. 73

This text, which is unfortunately incomplete at the top, is written on the front of a papyrus of fine quality and light colour. The back of the papyrus is blank. The text consists of a declaration made by a certain Sois to the effect that sacrifices have been made on behalf of the imperial household and a plea for accession to his requests; a plea which is reinforced by reference to the proper fulfilment of religious duties. This could be interpreted as an attempt to influence the authorities by the implicit threat of neglect, in much the same way as taxpayers refer to possible inability to continue paying taxes.

The content of the text and the term ἀναφόριον (13) suggest that this was a petition, and the references in the early lines, in so far as they are preserved, raise the possibility that Sois son of Teos was a priest in the service of the god Serapis (see 3 n.). This can comfortably fit the plentiful evidence, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times, for sacrifices on behalf of reigning monarchs made to recognized Graeco-Egyptian deities.

→ (m. 1) ἀγα[γ]εῖν α... [c. 15
τὸν θίασον καὶ [c. 12 τήν]
ἱερὰν κλείνην ἐν[c. 15
θα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[c. 12 ἐπι-]
5 τελεσθῆναι ὑπ[έρ] τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου]
θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σύνπαν-
τος αὐτοῦ οἴκου τύχης τὰς θυσίας καὶ
σπονδάς. διὸ ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνεται
10 ἐπιχωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡξιωμένοις
πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν τῶν [εἰς] τὸ θεῖον
ἀνηκόντων παρεωρ[α]θῆναι. εὐτύχ(ει).
(m. 2) Σόις Τεώτος ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ἀνα-
φόριον. (ἔτους) 5 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανῶς
15 Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ζ.

7 l. σύνπαντος 12. εὐτυχ

'(lines 5 ff.) ... the fulfilment of sacrifices and libations on behalf of the fortune of our god and lord Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus and all his household. Therefore I ask, if it seems good, that you consent to my requests so that none of the things concerning the deity may be overlooked. Farewell. (2nd hand) I, Sois son of Teos, have handed in the petition. Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, month Sebastos 7.'

1 I am not certain that there is really room for the restored gamma, but this seems the easiest way to make sense of the surviving letters. A reading of εἰπα is possible, but then it is difficult to find an explanation for αγα; I can find no word terminating in αγα which would fit the context.

2 This is the only occurrence of the word θιασος in papyri of the Roman period, so far as I can ascertain. For Ptolemaic references see SB III 6027, 6033, 6668, 6929, V 7578, 8873, P. Grenf. I 31 and Otto, Priester und Tempel I, pp. 126-7, San Nicolò, Ägyptisches Vereinswesen I 13-15. For a θιασος elsewhere in the Roman period, AJA 37 (1933) 215 ff.

3 The occurrence of the word κλίνη suggests strongly that the god Serapis is involved here and that Sois was a priest attached to his cult; the word seems to occur only in this connexion, e.g. XIV 1755, XII 1484, P. Osl. III 157, P. Yale 85; see Youtie, HThR 41 (1948) 9-29, Koenen, ZPE 1 (1967) 121-6.

4-9 For references to sacrifices on behalf of reigning monarchs and emperors see, for example, BGU I 1, II 362. iv. 11, 646, IV 1197, 1200, VIII 1768, P. Ryl. IV 557, SB IV 7457, WChr. 6, 70, P. Amh. II 35, SPP XXII 183, VI 923, VIII 1143, XXXVI 2782, OGIS 667.

3165. NOTE CONCERNING GRAIN PAYMENTS

P.Oxy. A 8/6D

5 × 7.5 cm.

Mid-second cent.

Memorandum to the effect that certain persons have made or received grain payments that are to be booked to their personal accounts or used to pay government dues.

17-19 The comparable passage in P. Mert. 75 runs: *θεμένη μοι τὸ ταύτης ἐκδόσιμον, ἐτελεύτησεν· ὅθεν ἐπιφέρων τοῦτο κτλ.*

26-7 This supplies a solution to the difficulty encountered by the editors in P. Mert 75. 26, where *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς λύξεως* can now be supplied.

27 In spite of the statement in P. Fuad I 32 introd. that 12 drachmas was the normal fee (followed by the editors of P. Mert. 75), the *stigma* is quite clear here and confirms the reading of the amount in P. Mert. 75. Since P. Fuad I 32 does mention a fee of 12 drachmas, the question of the 'normal' fee must be left open.

35 For a corrected reading of the docket in P. Mert. 75. 32-5 see L. C. Youtie, 'P. Mert. II 75: the Subscription', *ZPE* 6 (1970) 175-82. For *συγκολλησιμῶν* cf. P. Hamb. 18. An obvious guess for the second word is *λύ[σεων]*, but these and the following traces are too exiguous and abraded to admit any definite suggestion.

3167. APPLICATION FROM LYCOPOLITE VILLAGERS

31 4 B. 8/L (1-3)a

13.5 × 23 cm.

A.D. 195-8

An application to a strategus of the Lycopolite nome from the comarchs and cultivators of Nebna, requesting that instructions to permit them to irrigate their fields with water in storage after the recent flood be given to the appropriate authority. In support of this request are enclosed copies of two letters from previous years: in the first of these (9-13, A.D. 183-5) the strategus Hermippus is informed that orders to release water for Nebna have been issued by his correspondent; in the second (14-19, A.D. 195), the strategus Dioscorus apparently notifies his correspondent that he himself, in compliance with the latter's instructions, has authorized a local official to release the water. The tone adopted in these letters suggests that the correspondents of the strategi were persons of considerable standing in the nome bureaucracy, comparable perhaps to the Arsinoite *αἰγιαλοφύλαξ* or nome *λμναστής* (P. Petaus 49 introd., 52 introd.); but there is no evidence concerning the Lycopolite irrigation officialdom except for the present text. It is not clear whether the two correspondents held the same position, nor whether the letters represent different administrative procedures or different stages of one process.

The straightforward manner in which the application was written suggests that the request was an ordinary one and not brought on by unusual circumstances; line 1 indicates that it was granted. No real parallel is known to me; cf. in general P. Ryl. II 81; P. Wisc. I 31, 32, 34 = 35; P. Mich. XI 617; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 7-25; F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 185-95. The strategi named are new, as is the village of Nebna.¹

To judge by the imperial titles of lines 12-13, 18-19, and 19-20, approximately 60 letters have been lost from the right side of the papyrus; the surviving text therefore represents about one third of the original document. In the translation below, words enclosed in square brackets are intended as probable suggestions toward the sense of the lost text, since verbal restoration of the Greek is not possible and the sur-

¹ In P. Giss. I 82.5 there is mention of *Ἰβίων Νεβνᾶ* (so accented) in the Apollonopolite nome near the Lycopolite border. Cf. also P. Giss. I 5.4; 15.3; 58 introd. p. 5; III 488. 3 (*Νεμνᾶ*).

viving words by themselves are not sufficiently extensive to yield an intelligible translation.

- (vac.) (m. 8) *ἐπεστάλ(η)*
- (m. 1) [c. 6] *δηι στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολείτου* [
[. . .] *χων καὶ γεωργῶν κώμης Νέβ[να*
[c. 3 ὁ ἱερ] *ώτατος Νεῖλος ἀποβῆ ἑπαφέεσθαι τ[*
5 *. . . μου εἰς τὰ ὑποκαθήμενα πεδία ἡμῶν τ[*
τοῦ οὖν Νεῖλου ἀποβάντος ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιστ[
ἀπολῦσαι ἡμῖν τὰ ὕδατα ὡς καὶ παντὶ τῷ χρ. [
ἐπιστολῶν τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπετάξαμεν [
Ἑρμίππωι στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολείτου [
10 *ἐπέμψα, ἀδελφε, τὴν ἄφεσιν ποιῆ[σαι* *εἰς τὰ περὶ]*
Νέβνα ἐδάφη· ὅπερ ἴν' εἰδῆς, φίλτατε, . [
καὶ εἰκάδα. ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ[αι. (ἔτους) κ. Αὐ-
τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]
Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀρμενι<α>κοῦ Μη[δικοῦ
ἄλλης ὁμοίως. Διόσκορος στρατηγὸς Λυ[κοπολείτου
15 *πρὸς ἃ ἐπέστείλας μοι ἐκ βιβλιδίου ἐπιδοθέντος*
τῶν ὑδάτων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπὸ περιχώ[ματος *τῶι ἐπὶ]*
λμνασμοῦ τῶν τόπων τεταγμένωι ἐξα[
νε . . . ἡς διοικήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων. (ἔτους) δ [Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς
Περτίνακος]
Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηγικοῦ, Θῶθ κς. ἔ[τους .
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου]
20 *Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβ[ηγικοῦ*
(m. 2) *Πυθέας Τιτιανοῦ ἐπιδέδωκα.* (m. 3) *Πααδελεῖς [*
(m. 4) *Διδύμου ἐπιδέδωκ(α).* (m. 5) *Φιλαντίνους Ἀντινοεὺς*
ἐπιδέδωκ[α.
(m. 6) *Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιδέδωκα.* (m. 7) *Ἀπολλοδ[*

(8th hand) 'Instructions forwarded'.

(1st hand) 'To NN, strategus of the Lycopolite nome, [from the] . . . and cultivators of the village Nebna [of the same nome. It is customary that when] the most sacred Nile recedes, [its waters] be released [from the basins wherein they are stored] into our fields below them. Therefore, since the Nile has receded, we request that an order be sent [to the proper irrigation official] to release the water for us, as is done [. . . To support our request], we have appended a copy of [some relevant] letters.

'To Hermippus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome . . . I have sent orders, my brother, to have

[irrigation water] released for the fields around Nebna; for your information on this point, dearest friend, [I have sent you a copy of my order, dated on the] 2[.]th. I pray for your health. Year 2[.] of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Pius Armeniacus Medicus...

'(Copy of) another (letter) likewise. Dioscorus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome... In response to the instructions you sent me in accordance with the petition presented [by the villagers of...], requesting that irrigation] water [be released] to them from the basin [...], I have written] to the official placed in charge of the irrigation of the district [immediately to see to the proper] management of the water. Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, Thoth 26.

'Year... of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus...

(2nd hand) 'Submitted by me, Pytheas son of Titianus. (3rd hand) (Submitted by me,) Paadeleis... (4th hand) Submitted by me, NN son of Didymus. (5th hand) Submitted by me, Philantinous, Antinoite. (6th hand) Submitted by me, Didymus son of Apollonius...

1 ἐπεστάλ(η): grants the request made in line 6.
2 Possibly [γεού]χων, cf. S.B. IV 7361. 4 (revised in Z.P.E. 15 (1974) 149-52, παρὰ... καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν γεούχων καὶ δημοσίων γεωργῶν?).

5 ... μου: γρημῶ not suggested.
ὕποκαθήμενα: only here in papyri.
6 ἐπιστ[εῖλαι] or ἐπιστ[αλῆναι].

7 χρ[ε]: χρ[ε]μ[ένων] and χρ[ε]ν[ων], but not χρ[ε]ζ[οντι] are possible.
8 After ὑπετάξαμεν the space of two letters was left blank before the break on the right side.

12 καὶ εἰκάδα: no doubt a date, the 2[.]th of a month, but the accusative is not easy to account for. Restore perhaps something of the order of ἐπέμομφά σοι ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ἐπιστάματός μου, κε-
χρονισμένου εἰς τὴν ...] καὶ εἰκάδα.

The imperial titles used are compatible only with a date in Commodus's 24th or 25th year, A.D. 183/4 or 184/5.

16-17 τῶν ἐπὶ λυμνασμοῦ τῶν τόπων τεταγμένων: cf. P. Petaus 52, introd. and line 8 note.
17 εἰς: e.g., εἰς αὐτῆς.
18 ἐνε... ης: before διοικήσεως perhaps τῆς; then the preceding letter may be α, but ἐνεκα τῆς cannot be read.

18-19 (ἐτους) δ: because of the imperial titles this can only refer to year 4, not, e.g., δευτέρου or δεκάτου, of Septimius Severus. The date is 24 September A.D. 195.

19-20 This, the date of the petition as a whole, must be later than the enclosed letter of Thoth 26, year 4, but earlier than the association of Caracalla in the reign; possible therefore are A.D. 195-8.

3168. REGISTER OF LAND AND TAXES

28 4B.59/K(3)a

30 × 23 cm.

Late second century

A fragment containing the top portions of the 92nd, 93rd and 94th columns of a list of persons holding parcels of private land, together with sums of money due for ναύβιον, c() and χοινισμός, and a record of bank payments for these. An Hermopolite origin for the text is virtually assured by the mention of catoecic land 'not subject to demand' (ἀναίτητος) in lines 14-15 and 31 and by the specifically Hermopolite siglum for 'catoecic' used in lines 8, 12, 14 and 15. Three of the names of κληροῖ given recur in other Hermopolite texts (lines 4, 8, 34 notes); but positive identification is hardly possible, since several allotments in different areas may have borne the same name.

The land described falls into two classes: catoecic and εἶδους ιδιοκτητήτου, 'land classed

as privately acquired'. The latter term has not occurred previously, but may be compared with land ἐν τάξει ιδιοκτητήτου known for the Apollonopolite nome (W. Chr. 341. 15); cf. l. 7 note. Of regular catoecic land, more than 5 aruras were used for palm groves, all of which had become waterlogged (lines 2-3; 17-18, 21); 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ were used for orchards, on 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ aruras of which collection of taxes had been temporarily suspended (3-4, 10-11); and 12 $\frac{7}{16}$ were used for vineyards (8, 12-14). An additional 5 aruras without further qualification were presumably grain land (9-10). Reckoned separately from the remainder of catoecic land was the ἀναίτητος (l. 14 note), of which 3 aruras of palm groves are mentioned in line 14 and a small amount of unknown planting is implied by line 31.

No evidence hitherto published has revealed the rate at which naubion was assessed in the Hermopolite nome, though the existence of the tax there is well attested (references in Wallace, p. 381, n. 63). It is apparent from this text that the Arsinoite distinction between ναύβιον κατοίκων and ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων was not applied, since in lines 7-11 the amount of εἶδους ιδιοκτητήτου is added together with catoecic land before the naubion is calculated. The assessment is stated in silver currency rather than in copper.

Allowing for the scribe's practice of rounding dues upward to the nearest $\frac{1}{2}$ obol, one finds that the charges in lines 4, 11 and 14 (two instances) correspond to a rate of 3 obols per arura, equivalent to the Arsinoite rate of 150 copper drachmae per arura for ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων. In lines 3, 12, 18, 30, 36, 37 and almost certainly 47 (cf. note) the amount is 3 obols/arura plus 1 obol; in line 43, it is 3 obols/arura plus $\frac{1}{2}$ obol. These excess amounts do not correspond to Arsinoite προδιαγραφόμενα, which was a percentage of the naubion; they are dependent directly on the land area taxed. The plus of $\frac{1}{2}$ obol occurs on 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ aruras. Leaving aside ἀναίτητος land, the smallest area on which a 1-obol plus occurs is 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ aruras (cf. 47 note), the largest 5 $\frac{9}{16}$. The remaining lots, from 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ aruras up, are precisely at 3 obols/arura.

Catoecic ἀναίτητος land apparently enjoyed a reduced rate for naubion: the 3 aruras of line 14 were assessed at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr. (3 ob./ar.) rather than the 1 dr. 4 ob. (3 ob./ar. + 1 ob.) expected on a lot of that size.

The tax abbreviated c() is perhaps the familiar c(υμβολικά), but other expansions such as c(υντάξεως) are more probable. Unlike Arsinoite cυμβολικά (cf. P. Ryl. II 192, 10 n.; P. Teb. II 295. 12 n.), the assessment is related to land area, or to the naubion charged thereon. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ obols for c() are charged on land which paid 2 dr. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. naubion (39); 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. on land which paid 3 dr. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. naubion (4); and 3 ob. on land which paid 4 dr. and 4 dr. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. naubion (11 and 14). Cf. further 14 note.

Bank payments for these two charges are recorded under each entry, with dues on ἀναίτητος noted separately (15 and 31). A second hand has recorded payments made in years 17 and 18 (most probably of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 153/5, or of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 175-7) for an impost abbreviated cχ() and cχο(). Of the few words so beginning, only cχο(ινισμός) is convincing as a tax. The charge has not occurred before, but cf. the common γεωμετρία and πηχισμός (VI 917, introd.). The second hand has also made marginal notes of uncertain significance, chiefly concerning the payments in year 17.

The list is arranged alphabetically by first letter; the closest parallel is B.G.U. IX 1896 (Arsinoite nome). The text is remarkable for the variety of abbreviations and symbols used to express the same word: 3 forms of the half-obol sign appear, παραδείσου is abbreviated after π or after δ, ἀναιτήτου after ι or the first α, and 2 forms of the 'catoecic' symbol are found as well as the abbreviation κ(ατ)οι(κικός).

Effaced ends of lines from the 1st column (92nd of the original roll) are not reproduced here. On the back is an account concerning pigs.

In preparing this text I have had use of a preliminary transcript by E. P. Wegener. Col. ii

→

97

Πανετβ() Ωρου μητρο(ς) Ταπτω(τος) φ(οινικῶνος)

ἐμβ(ρόχου) κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ) ἐκ (τοῦ)

Τρύφων(ς) (ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ), ν(αυβίου)

α (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). π(αραδείσου) ἐν

ἐποχ(ῇ) κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ) ἐκ (τοῦ)

Στράτω(νος) (ἄρουραι) ζή', ν(αυβίου) γ (τρι-

ώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), c() (διώβολον)

(ἡμιωβέλιον), (γίνονται) ε (διώβολον)

(ἡμιωβέλιον).

5 (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτ.) (m. 1) τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ἡ κο(λλήματος) 5̄ ε (δι-

σχ(οι.) (πεντ.)

ώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτους), 'Αθὺρ

κγ̄ κολ(λήματος) γ̄ σχ(οινισμοῦ) (πεντώβολον).

ιη (ἔτους), 'Αθὺρ κζ̄ κολ(λήματος) κδ̄ σχ(οινισμοῦ)

(πεντώβολον).

(m. 1) Πολυδᾶς Ωρίωνο(ς) μη(τρος) Couero(ῦτος) φ(οι-

κῶνος) ἐμβ(ρόχου) εἰδ(ους) ἰδιοκ(τήτου)

ἐκ (τοῦ) Πολυκ() (ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ) d, ἀμπ(έλου)

(κατοικικῆς) ἐκ (τοῦ) Φιλίσκ(ου) (ἀρούρης) δη',

(γίνονται) γη'.

κ(ατ)οι(κικῆς) ἐκ (τοῦ) 'Αγαθοκ(λέους) Ταυρω()

(ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ) d, Εὐβίο(υ) (ἀρούρης)

(ἥμισυ) ι5̄,

ἄλ(λη) (ἄρουρα) α (ἥμισυ) ἡι5̄, (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ε,

(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ηη'. παραδ(είσου) d̄isλβ̄,

ἄλ(λη) d̄ηλβ̄,

ἄλ(λη) παραδ(είσου) (ἀρούρης) (ἥμισυ), (γίνονται)

10

(ἄρουραι) θδη', ν(αυβίου) δ (τετρώβολον)

(ἡμιωβέλιον), c() (τριώβολον).

Τεχύμew(ς) ἀμπ(έλου) (κατοικικῆς) ἐκ (τοῦ)

Πτολ() Μενεβούλ(ου) (ἄρουραι) δι5̄, β (ὀβολός)

(ἡμιωβέλιον)

καὶ (πρότερον) Coueroῦτο(ς) Λεωνίδ(ου)

'Ατείρω(ς) ἐκ (τοῦ) 'Αρομβ()

(m. 2) σχ(οι.) β (m. 1) (ἄρουραι) η, ν(αυβίου) δ, c() (τριώβολον).

(πεντ.)

(κατοικικοῦ) φ(οινικῶνος) νε(ιλοβρόχου)

ἀναι(τήτου) γ̄, (δραχμή) α (τριώβολον),

(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιγ (τριώβολον).

15 (m. 2) (ἄρουρ.). (m. 1) [τ]ρ(απέζης) Μεχείρ κο(λλήματος) ἡ (δραχμαὶ) ια

(πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). (κατοικικῆς)

ἀ(ναιτήτου) (δραχμή) α (τριώβολον), (γίνονται)

(δραχμαὶ) ιγ (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

(m. 2) 'Αθὺρ κγ' κολ(λήμ.) ιζ (ἔτους), 'Αθὺρ κγ̄ κολ(λήματος) ῑ σχ(οινισμοῦ)

ῑ ε [(ὀβ.) (ἡμ.)]

ε (ὀβολός) (ἡμιωβέλιον), ιη̄ (ἔτους), 'Αθὺρ κζ̄

κολ(λήματος) κδ̄ σχ(οινισμοῦ) β (πεντώβολον).

(m. 1) Πολυκρ(άτης) Ωρεῖτο(ς) Μυσταρίο(νος) φ(οινικῶνος)

ἐμβ(ρόχου) κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ) ἐκ (τοῦ) Παρμε()

(ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ), ν(αυβίου) α (διώβολον)

(ἡμιωβέλιον).

(m. 2) ιζ (ἔτ.) (m. 1) τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ιβ̄ κο(λλήματος) κ̄

σχ(οι.) (πεντ.)

(δραχμή) α (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

(m. 2) ιζ (ἔτους), [Φαμ(ενώθ) κε] 'Αθὺρ κζ̄'

κολ(λήματος) δ̄ σχ(οινισμοῦ) (πεντώβολον).

ιη̄ (ἔτους), 'Αθὺρ λ̄ κολ(λήματος) λ̄η̄ σχ(οινισμοῦ)

(πεντώβολον).

(m. 1) Cωστρ() [.]...[.] μητρο(ς) T[.]...ρ() [φ(οι-

νικῶνος) ἐμ]β(ρόχου) κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ) ἐκ (τοῦ)

Πάριδ(ος) κλ(ήρου)

.

20

- ϣδ
- 25 *Σεμθεῦς Ἀδράστου μη[τρό(ς)]*
εἶδ(ου)ς ἰδιοκ(τήτου) ἐκ το(ῦ) Πολυκ()
(ἄρουρ.) [
(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) γῆ-, ν(αυβίου) α (τετρώ-
βολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον) (vac.) [
 (m. 2) *ιζ (ἔτους) (m. 1) τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ἡ κο(λλήματος) ζ̄ α (τετρώ-*
α βολον). (m. 2) ιζ [(ἔτους) κο(λλήματος),
α χ(οινισμοῦ) α]
ιη (ἔτους) Ἀθὺρ κζ̄ κο(λλήματος) κῆ χ(οινισμοῦ) α.
 (m. 1) *Σεμθεῦς Ἀρμύσιο(ς) Θε[*
ἐκ (τοῦ) Πτολ() Μιθ() (ἄρουρα) α (ῥιμυ),
κ(ατ)ο[ι(κικ-) ἐκ (τοῦ) αδῆ',]
 30 *(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) β (ῥιμυ) δῆ', ν(αυβίου) α*
(τετρώβολον)[
τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ἡ κο(λλήματος) ζ̄ α (δι-
ώβολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον). (m. 2) ἀνα(τήτου)
(διώβολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον?).
 (m. 1) *ιζ (ἔτους) Ἀθὺρ κγ̄ κο(λλήματος) β̄ χ(οινισμοῦ)*
(διώβολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον). ιῆ (ἔτους)
Ἀθὺρ λ̄ κο(λλήματος) λῆ χ[οινισμοῦ] (διώ-
βολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον)].
 (m. 1) *Σιμάριστος Ἀπολλων[*
κ(ατ)οι(κικ-) ἐκ (τοῦ) Μοσχίω(νος) (ἄρουρα) αδ
ε[(ἄρουραι) β (ῥιμυ) διςλβξδρκη,]
 35 *(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) διςλβξδρκη. Κλειτάρχ[ου*
(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) εδλβξδ[ρκη], ν(αυβίου) β
(πεντώβολον), c() .[
Ἐπιχάρο(ς) (ἄρουραι) β (ῥιμυ), ν(αυβίου) α (διώ-
βολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον) [
(ἄρουρα) αδ, ἄλ(λη) α, (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) βδ[
ν(αυβίου) β (διώβολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον), c() (ὀβολός)
(ῥιμωβέλιον), (γίνονται?)].
 40 (m. 2) *ιζ (ἔτ.) (m. 1) τρ(απέζης) Παχὼν κῆ κο(λλήματος) νῆ θ (ὀβολός).*

- α (τετρ.) (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτους) Ἀθὺρ κγ̄ κο(λλήματος) ιᾱ χ(οινισμοῦ) α*
(ῥιμ.) (τετρώβολον) (ῥιμωβέλιον). ιη (ἔτους) Ἀθὺρ
κζ̄ [κο(λλήματος) . χ(οινισμοῦ) α (τετρώβολον)
(ῥιμωβέλιον)].
Κύρος Ἀγαθοκλ(έου)ς μητρό(ς) Τα.[
(ἄρουρα) α (ῥιμυ), ν(αυβίου) (πεντώβολον).
τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ιβ̄ κο(λλήματος) ιζ̄
(πεντώβολον).
 45 *Κηθίων Ἀπεως τοῦ κ(αί) .[*
..ε() νε(ιλοβρόχου) κ(ατ)οι(κικ-) ἐκ (τοῦ)
Μένω(νος) (ἄρουραι) γ (ῥιμυ) d [
[ἐκ (τοῦ)] Μοσχίω(νος) (ἄρουραι?) βδ, ν(αυβίου)
α (διώβολον?)].

Col. ii. '93. Paneth(), son of Horus and Taptos, 2½ aruras of flooded catoecic palm grove located in Tryphon's allotment, 1 dr. 2½ ob. for naubion. 7½ aruras of catoecic orchard on which taxes have been suspended, in Straton's allotment: 3 dr. 3½ ob. naubion, 2½ ob. for s(), total 5 dr. 2½ ob. Paid through the bank, Pharmouthi 8, column 6, 5 dr. 2½ ob. (2nd hand) Year 17, Hathyr 23, col. 3, 5 ob. measuring fees. Year 18, Hathyr 27, col. 24, 5 ob. measuring fees. (marginal note) Year 17, 5 ob. measuring fees.'

(1st hand) 'Polydas, son of Horion and Souerous, 2½ aruras of flooded palm grove classed as privately acquired in Polyc()'s allotment; ¾ arura of catoecic vineyard in Philiscus's allotment; total, 3½ aruras. Catoecic (grain) land: 2½ aruras in the allotment of Agathocles son of Tauro(), 1½ arura in Eubius's allotment, another parcel of 1½ aruras, total 5, grand total 8½. Orchard: 1½ arura, another 1½ arura, another ½ arura of orchard, total 9½ aruras, 4 dr. 4½ ob. naubion, 3 ob. s(). Techymis's land: 4½ aruras of catoecic vineyard in the allotment of Ptol() son of Menebulus, 2 dr. 1½ ob. And formerly belonging to Souerous, daughter of Leonides and granddaughter of Hateris, 8 aruras in Haromb()'s allotment, 4 dr. naubion, 3 ob. s(). 3 aruras of catoecic palm grove watered by the Nile, "not subject to demand": 1 dr. 3 ob. Total, 13 dr. 3 ob. Paid through the bank, Mecheir, col. 8, 11 dr. 5½ ob., and for catoecic land "not subject to demand" 1 dr. 3 ob., total 13 dr. 2½ ob. (2nd hand) Year 17, Hathyr 23, col. 10, 5 dr. 1½ ob. for measuring fees. Year 18, Hathyr 27, col. 24, 2 dr. 5 ob. measuring fees. (marginal note) 2 dr. 5 ob. measuring fees. arur.... Hathyr 23, col. 10, 5 dr. 1½ ob.'

(1st hand) 'Polycrates, son of Horeis, grandson of Mystarion, 2½ aruras of flooded catoecic palm grove in the allotment of Parme(), 1 dr. 2½ ob. naubion. Paid through the bank, Pharmouthi 12, col. 20, 1 dr. 2½ ob. (2nd hand) Year 17, Hathyr 27, col. 4, 5 ob. measuring fees. Year 18, Hathyr 30, col. 38, 5 ob. measuring fees. (marginal note) Year 17, 5 ob. measuring fees.'

The remainder is too mutilated for continuous translation.

2 φ(οινικῶνος): φ written with no mark of abbreviation; cf. P. Ryl. II 82. 6 note.

2-3 ἐκ (τοῦ) Τρύφωνο(ς): sc. κλήρου, the allotment named after Tryphon. For the manner of abbreviating τοῦ by raising the κ of ἐκ, cf. e.g. the frequent τὸ (πᾶν), ἀνὰ (μέσον), μεθ' (ῆν), ἀνθ' (οὔ). In line 24, ἐκ το(ῦ) is used.

3 ἐν ἐποχ(ῇ): said of land on which the government had temporarily suspended collection of taxes; cf. the references in P. Teb. II 337. 2; P. Giss. 48. 11; and P. Ryl. II 214. 34.¹ But the taxes

¹ To which P. Mich. Michael (diss. Ann Arbor 1966) 15. 4 may be added.

assessed on this land were actually paid in line 5. Cf. P. Teb. 337 for the explanation of a similar occurrence (taxes collected *πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*, line 4).

In *ν(αυβίου)* the second element of the abbreviation resembles the Hermopolite compendium for *ὁ αὐτός*. It might therefore have been more correct to expand it as *ναυ(βίου)* throughout.

4 *Τράτω(νο)*: an Hermopolite allotment of this name is mentioned in *Archiv* IV (1908) 131, l. 23.

5 *τ(απέζης)*: cf. e.g. B.G.U. IX 1896. 35–7 note; P. Ryl. II 185 and 188; P. Prince. I 9; XII 1434. The expansion is based on P. Princ. I 8 iv. 6 and 10, *τῆς τ(απέζης)*.

7 *εἰδ(ου)* *ἰδιοκ(τήτου)*: cf. introd. The point of *εἰδ(ου)* is presumably similar to that of *τάξις* in the phrase *βασιλικῆς ἐν τάξει ἰδιοκτῆτου ἀναγρα(φομένης)* (W. Chr. 341. 15): that the land was for fiscal purposes treated as *ἰδιόκτητος*, but was not necessarily such by origin. Cf. the *τάξις ἰδιωτικῆς* of *JJP* 17 (1971) 33–44, which is composed of more than simply *ἰδιωτικῆς*.

8 *Πολυκ()*: cf. line 24.

(*κατοικικῆς*): see *app. crit.* For a theory on the origin of this symbol, see Wilcken, *Archiv* 5 (1913) 184–5; it has thus far occurred only in papyri from the Hermopolite nome. The *c*-like hook which forms the final element of the sign in this text has apparently not been found before.

Φιλίσκ(ου): cf. C. P. Herm. 7 ii. 24; P. Flor. I 41. 3.

12 *Τεχύμεω(ς)*: i.e., this is land owned by Techymis, but on which Polydas must pay the taxes by terms of a lease or for other cause. Less probably, because not introduced by *καὶ (πρότερον)*, the former owner of the land. Hardly a geographic subdivision (e.g. *γῆς* or *περίχωμα*) where the land was located, since no other such is named in the text.

It is unnecessary to insert *ν(αυβίου)* before *β(όβολος)* (*ἡμωβέλιον*); cf. line 14, end; 26, marginalia.

14 *ἀνα(τήτου)*: cf. P. Ryl. II 164. 4 note; P. Vindob. Boswinkel 3. 10 note. This type of catocic land is not attested outside the Hermopolite nome, and has hitherto been known only from the formula *γῆς κατοικικῆς ἀνατήτου ἄρουραι*; the significance of the name is unclear. In the present text *ἀναίτητος* is the last category of land listed in a given entry, and taxes paid on it are recorded separately (cf. lines 15 and 31). The rate of naubion charged is apparently lower than that for other land; cf. introd. Absence of a sum for *c()* in this line is perhaps insignificant, since that charge may not have fallen on lots so small as 3 aruras in any case: the smallest payment for *c()* recorded (line 49) is accompanied by a naubion payment of 2 dr. 2½ ob., which corresponds to about 4½ aruras.

15 (*δραχμαὶ*) *ια (πεντάβολον)* (*ἡμωβέλιον*): this payment is inexplicably short by ½ obol; cf. lines 26 and 31.

16 The reason for the different payments for *εχονικμός* in years 17 and 18 is not apparent. No aid can be had from the remnants of the marginalia.

21 *Ωωστρ()*: *Ωώστρ(ατος)* or *Ωωστρ(άτη)*.

25 (*ἄρουραι*) *γη'*: the expected figure if the naubion equalled 3 obols/arura + 1 obol; but the papyrus has been stripped at this point so that a reading cannot really be verified.

26 *α(τετράβολον)*: ½ obol short of the assessment in line 25; cf. lines 15 and 31.

30 The *ἀναίτητος* land for which a payment is made in l. 31 was no doubt mentioned at the end of this line.

31 *α(διώβολον)* (*ἡμωβέλιον*): 1½ obols short of the assessment in line 30; cf. 15, 26.

34 *Μοσχίω(νο)*: cf. P. Flor. I 64. 40.

ε[]: *ε[κ(τοῦ)]* or *Ε[]*, the name of the clerus. Not (*διώβολον*) (*ἡμωβέλιον*).

34–35 The arithmetic is: $1\frac{1}{4} + 2\frac{11}{16} = 4\frac{15}{16}$.

35 Because of the correction in line 36 it is pointless to try to restore a figure here.

39 After (*γίνονται*) one probably expects not the total of 2 dr. 2½ ob. + 1½ ob., but the total of all money sums in this entry; so l. 4.

47 *α(διώβολον?)*: only a single obol stroke after *α* is preserved today, under and after which the papyrus has crumbled away. This would correspond to a rate of exactly 3 obols/arura. One expects a higher sum than that, and Miss Wegener's early transcript in fact reads *α=* (1 dr. 2 ob.).

3169. ACCOUNT OF GRAIN

37 3 B.87/G (1–11) recto

(a) 66 × 31 cm. (b) 36 × 31 cm. (c) 5.5 × 16 cm. (d) 4 × 6 cm.

Between A.D. 174 and A.D. 212

Seven mutilated columns pieced together from many fragments of what must once have been a very extensive document. Its title is lost, but as the format is identical with that of XII 1444 and 1525–26, there can be no doubt that it too represents a *λόγος κατ' ἄνδρα χειριστικοῦ πυροῦ*, a detailed account of wheat giro-transfers, prepared by the granary administration for the strategus. Cf. also the papyrus cited in the introduction to P. Mich. XI 616, note 1.¹ A *terminus post quem* for the text is provided by references to the heirs of Dionysius also called Amois in lines 181 and 196: P. Fouad 32. 17–18 shows that this man was still alive in A.D. 174. The singling out of only three individuals as Aurelii (150, 151, 240) points to a date before the Constitutio Antoniniana in A.D. 212. Probable mentions of the Oxyrhynchite metropolitan scribe of A.D. 154 (143 n.) and of Claudia Isidora (l. 184 n.), whose property had been confiscated by c. A.D. 225 (XXXI 2566), are compatible with a date within the limits of A.D. 174 and 212.

The text records quantities of wheat paid into or out of various accounts, which are listed according to no discoverable ordering principle. Account holders are usually individuals or groups of individuals (e.g. 60, 80), but the income of property confiscated by the state is recorded as *θέμα* in the name of the fiscus (48–52; 58). Records of disbursements, always by giro-transfer, take a characteristic form as sub-lists headed by the name of the account flush with the margin of the column, followed by the total of wheat expended; under this, sharply set in from the left, is given a list of payees in the dative, plus the purpose and amount of each payment. Payments received are indicated with the recipient's name in the nominative, followed by the purpose and amount of the payment.

As in the parallel documents, payments are divided between *θέματα*, private deposits which remained at the free disposal of the individual, and state dues. Specific taxes are named, e.g., in ll. 12, 32, 274, 275. More often we are told only the village to whose account the grain was credited, and whether the taxpayer was to be found on the roll of villagers or of metropolitans (cf. 2 n.; 3181, 5 n.). In these cases the payment was certainly rent for land leased from the state or tax on private holdings located in the area of the village named. Such payments were handled for widely separated communities: Senao, Pela and Seryphis were in the western toparchy; Tychinnekotis in the eastern; Geme (so always in this text rather than the phonetically equivalent Ieme), Senepeta, Petne and probably Sennis (2 n.) in the central. The location of Psinaranachthis (121) is not known.

Certain features of the document indicate that there was an official attempt to have each account title correspond with a convenient taxing unit, with the result that land holdings of the contributors were reflected in the organization of the granary accounts. Thus landlords with several tenants on different plots maintained an account for each, in

¹ And P.Erl. 44.

the form 'landlord διὰ tenant' (e.g. 77 ff. and 115 ff.; 48-52; 155 n.). An individual's death, or the alienation of his property by confiscation or otherwise, did not result in the immediate extinction of his account. Instead, this was maintained under the title κληρονόμοι in the case of death, otherwise as πρότερον τοῦ δεινός, as this form of entry simplified review of the accounts for taxation purposes.

The economic importance of metropolitans in this text far exceeds their numbers (at least 23, probably no more than 30 persons). The total figures of grain handled are:

Col. i (mutilated, but in excess of)	63½ art., 9 ch.
ii (l. 84)	248½ art., 3 ch.
iii (l. 123)	225 art.
iv —	
v (mutilated, but in excess of)	247½ art., 7 ch.
vi (l. 248)	154½ art., 9 ch.
vii —	
Total in excess of	938½ art., 8 ch.

Of this the recoverable figures for the metropolitans account for 366½ art., 4 ch., more than a third of the total.

It would be unsafe to take these figures as reflecting the true economic situation of the nome. This account ignores all payments except those by banking transaction, whereas most small farmers presumably paid their taxes directly in kind. Certainly the situation in fourth-century Karanis was more favourable than the data presented here would, if valid, indicate for the second/third-century Oxyrhynchite nome. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. p. 79.

The account was reviewed by a second hand which added before each name a number which may represent the day on which the transaction took place or the kollema of a document which recorded it (l. 45 n.). This hand is further responsible for the slanting check stroke to the left of each entry, for the totals written at the bottom of each column, and for occasional corrections and additions to the text (54 ff., 209, 225). This or a third hand placed a heavy checking dot to the upper right of each quantity paid.

The sequence of the four main fragments can no longer be determined. The order in the text is arbitrary.

On the back, occasionally extending on to the front, are work notes concerning the granary at Sinary (3170).

(frag. a)

Col. i	
→ []ς Πανάρους	(ἀρτ.) 5
(ὧν) δι(α)ταλεῖται] ἐαυτῶ Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β·	
ἐαυτῶ Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·	
['Α]φύγχιος Cέννεως [·] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) 5d χ(οί.) β·	
5 []ευ.[.] τῆ(ς) α(ὕτῆς) κώ(μης) χ(οί.) γ·	

	[] π... νιας Τεεῦτος Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) d·	
	[]λεμιδος Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.)·	
	[] Cέννεως κώ(μης) []·	
	[] α.[...] [·] Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.) χ(οί.) η·	
10	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) {(ἀρτ.)} χ(οί.) β·	
	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) d χ(οί.) []·	
	ἐπι]κλας(μῶν) Cέννεως κώ(μης) ...·	
	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) β·	
	[] τω Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.) β·	
15	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) χ(οί.) δ·	
	[] (ἀρτ.) ε	
	(ὧν) δι(α)στ.) [] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β·	
	[] (ἀρτ.) γ·	
	[] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.) χ(οί.) []	
20	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) η·	
	[] οντῶτος (ἀρτ.) θ	
	(ὧν) δι(α)στ.) Cέννεως κώ(μης) []	
	Cένεπτα κώ(μης) []	
	[] ρου (ἀρτ.) β	
25	(ὧν) δι(α)στ.) Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α [(ἥμ.)] d χ(οί.) β·	
	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) χ(οί.) η·	
	[] [(ἀρτ.)] (ἀρτ.) ιγ χ(οί.) η	
	(ὧν) δι(α)στ.) [] πόλεως (ἀρτ.) ιβ χ(οί.) δ·	
	[] ἡ α(ὕτῆ) πόλεως {(ἀρτ.)} χ(οί.) δ·	
30	[] Γεμὴ πόλεως (ἀρτ.) α·	
	[] (ἀρτ.) 5d χ(οί.) δ	
	(ὧν) δι(α)στ.) συν]τά(ξεως) Γεμὴ κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α η'	
	συν]τά(ξεως) Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) βd χ(οί.) θ·	
	]ερεσίτ(ος) Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.) χ(οί.) β·	
35	[] ον Cέννεως πόλ(εως) (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.) η·	
	[] Πτολε]μαίου Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) ad χ(οί.) β·	
	[] Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) d χ(οί.)·	
	[] μη]τ(ρός) Μαροῦτος Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) d χ(οί.)·	
	[] μη]τ(ρός) Ταύριος (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.) d χ(οί.) δ	
40	(ὧν) δι(α)στ.) Cένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.) d·	

Κέννεω]ς κώ(μης) [(ἀρτ.) d χ(οί.)] δ·
[(ἀρτ.) . .] δd χ(οί.) ζ

29 l. τῆς αὐτῆς

Col. ii

-] Βῆς Πολ[.] Σε[ν]έ[π]τα?
Ζωίλος Ζωίλου .[.]ρ τα .[.] .[] (ἀρτ.)]
- 45 δ/(ὦν) δι(ακτ.) ἐαυτῷ Κέννεω κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.?) ι·
ι/ἐαυτῷ Κέννεω κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β (ἥμ.) d χ(οί.)[
ι/Σαραποῦς Βηκᾶτος Σελέπτα κώ(μης) d·
ζ/(πρότερον) κλ(ηρονόμων) Σεουήρου, νυνεὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου τα-
μείου δι(ὰ) Σερήνου γεωργ(οῦ) θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) ξδ (ἥμ.)·
- 50 ε/καὶ δι(ὰ) Κυρίωνος γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ [Τ]αμπιτὶ θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) β·
ὁμ(οίως) καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κοπρέως ἀπὸ τοῦ Νόμου ἐποικ(ίου)
θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) α (ἥμ.) d·
ὁμ(οίως) καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἱερέως γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ Νόμου ἐποικ(ίου)
θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) ξθ·
η/Βησαρίων ὁ καὶ Προφήτης δι(ὰ) Ἱερέως Ζωίλ[ου] θέ(ματος)
(ἀρτ.) μ·
ι/Θατρῆς Πολυδάτος Σελέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (m. 2) (ἥμ.) d·
- 55 (m. 2) Σεγγεω
(m. 2) θd χ(οί.) [β]
(m. 2) δ/ἡ αὐτὴ Κέννεω [κώ(μης) [(ἀρτ.) θ?]d χ(οί.) β·
ζ/(m. 1) (πρότερον) κλ(ηρονόμων) Σεουήρου {Σεουήρου}, νυνεὶ δὲ τοῦ
ἱερωτάτου
ταμείου δι(ὰ) Κοπρέως γεωργ(οῦ) [θέ(ματος)
60 δ/κλ(ηρονόμοι) Σαραπῶτος Πνεφερσόιτος Κέννεω]ς
η/κλ(ηρονόμοι) Θεοφίλας Πρόκλου δι(ὰ) Ἀμμωνίου γεωργ(οῦ) [
ι/Θεωνίλλα Φωκᾶτος Πέλα πό[λ]εως σὺν ἐπικλασμοῖς) [
]/Διογενὲς Ἱερ[α]κίωνος Γεμῆ [κώ(μης) [
]/Ζωίλος Δομιττίου καὶ Τσενθεῦ]ς
65 . / Κορνῆλις Σαρᾶτος Σελέπτα
]/ὁ αὐτὸς Κέννεω [
./ Παμβῆκις Παμβήκιος Κέννεω]ς
ε/Πτολεμαῖος Πύρρου Σεναῶ συντά(ξεως) κώ(μης)
ι/Ἀφύγχις Ἀμόιτος Σελέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α·

- 70 δ/Ὀννώφρις Ζωίλου Κέννεω κώ(μης) χ(οί.) σ·
ς/Θέων Δημητρίου δι(ὰ) Βηκᾶτος γεωργ(οῦ) Σελέπτα πόλεως (ἀρτ.?) ι·
α/Θαιεᾶς Ἑρμογένους Κέννεω πόλεως (ἀρτ.) γd χ(οί.) σ·
δ/Τααφύγχις Ἑρμογένους Κέννεω κώ(μης) χ(οί.) θ·
ι/ἡ αὐτὴ Σελέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἥμ.)·
- 75 δ/Παμβῆκις Ζωίλου Κέννεω κώ(μης) (ἥμ.) d χ(οί.) σ·
ι/ὁ αὐ[τὸς] Σελέπτα κώ(μης) χ(οί.) η·
Σαραπῆς ἡ καὶ Θαικοῦς δι(ὰ) Πτόλλιδος γεωργ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ιδ
ε/(ὦν) δι(ακτ.) ἐαυτῇ Γεμῆ πόλεως σὺν ἐπικλασμοῖς (ἀρτ.) σ
(ἥμ.) d χ(οί.) η·
ς/ἐαυτῇ Σελέπτα πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐπικλασμοῖς (ἀρτ.) ζ χ(οί.) β·
- 80 ις/Πτολλίων καὶ Πεκῦσις καὶ Διονύσιος συντά(ξεως) Γεμῆ κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.)
δ (ἥμ.) [
α/Θαιεᾶς Ἑρμογένους Κέννεω πόλεως (ἥμ.) d χ(οί.) β[·]
δ/Τααλῶς Ὡρου Κέννεω κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.) γ·
ι/ἡ αὐτὴ Σε[] κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) γ·
(ἀρτ.) Cμηd χ(οί.) γ

58 ἱερωτάτου 64 δομιττίου 72 θαῖσας 77 θαῖσους 81 θαῖσας

Col. iii

- 85].[
Cέ[ν]ε[π]εω []
ὁμ(οίως) ἐα[ν]τῷ Ἀμ[. .] C[]ενέπτα [π]όλεως (ἀρτ.) [. .]·
Ἀ]νδρόμαχος Ἀπερώτος καὶ Λούκις Π[. . .]ς
]/καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι κ() Σελέπτα πόλ[εως] (ἀρτ.) μγ·
- 90] Πετρωνία χρη(ματίζουσα) μητ(ρὸς) Πολυδοῦτος θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) κγ
(ἥμ.)·
]/Ἀπολλώνιος ἀλέτης Κέννεω κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἥμ.)·
]/κλ(ηρονόμοι) Πνεφερσόιτος Πακίωνος Κέννεω κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·
]/Πτολεμαῖος Φιλοστράτου Cέν[ε]ω[ς] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἥμ.) χ(οί.) θ·
δ/Ἱε[ρ]εὺς Παποντῶτος συντά(ξεως) Πετνὴ κώ(μης) χ(οί.) δ·
- 95]/Ἰουλία Δημητρία καὶ Λουκία Γαίου . ςας δι(ὰ)
Πετερμούθεως γεωργ(οῦ) θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) β·
] Διόσκορος Εὐδαίμωνος συντά(ξεως) Πετν[ή] κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) σ·
] , ς καὶ Πεκρούρις συντά(ξεως) Πετνὴ κώ(μης) (ἥμ.?) d χ(οί.) β·
 Π]τολλᾶτος καὶ Πολυδάς Ζωιλ[] κώ(μης) (ἥμ.?) d χ(οί.) β·

- 100]ς χρη(ματίζ) μητ(ρός) Τααμεννέ[ως Π]ετνή κώ(μης) (ἡμ.?) d
 χ(οί.) β·
]ς Ψόιτος συντά(ξεως) Πετνή κώ(μης) χ(οί.) σ·
] Διοκλέους Γεμὴ πόλεως (ἀρτ.) βd χ(οί.) σ·
 Σε]νέπτα πόλεως (ἀρτ.) χ(οί.) δ·
 .[c. 11]ρατη[c. 6]. του Σε]νέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.?) β·
 105 .[c. 20] Πετνή κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἡμ.) d χ(οί.) β·
 ὁμ(οίως)/[c. 7].[c. 6 κυ]ντά(ξεως) Πετνή κώ(μης) d·
 ὁμ(οίως)/[c. 6] Παπορ[τῶ]τος συντά(ξεως) Πετνή κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) β·
 ὁμ(οίως) Ζωί[λο]ς Παμβήκιος συντά(ξεως) Πετνή κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) β·
 Πτολεμαῖος Πύρρου (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.) δ
 110 ιδ/(ῶν) δι(αστ.) ἐαυτῶ Πετνή συντά(ξεως) κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἡμ.)
 χ(οί.) δ·
 σ/Ταῦρι Γλαφυρᾶτος Σε]νέπτα πόλ(εως) (ἀρτ.) (ἡμ.)·
 η/Αἴλιος Ἀμμωνίων καὶ Φιλίσκος θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) μγ (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) σ·
 σ/Ταῦρις χρη(ματίζουσα) μητ(ρός) Γλαφυρᾶτος Σε]νέπτα πόλ(εως) (ἀρτ.)
 χ(οί.) δ·
 θ/Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου [].·
 115 Σαραπίᾱς ἡ καὶ Θαισοῦς δι(ὰ) Οὐνηστίνου γεωργ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) [μα χ(οί.) η]
 κθ/(ῶν) δι(αστ.) ἐαυτῇ Πέλα πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) α·
 α/ἐαυτῇ Σένεως πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) ι (ἡμ.)·
 λ/ἐαυτῇ Σενᾶ πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) γ·
 ζ/ἐαυτῇ Σε]νέπτα πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) κς (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) η·
 120 Ἀνθέστις ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων Κλέωνος (ἀρτ.) λ
 α/(ῶν) δι(αστ.) ἐαυτῶ Ψιναρανάχθεως πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς)
 (ἀρτ.) κβ (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) ζ·
 ζ/ἐαυτῶ Σε]νέπτα πόλ(εως) (ἀρτ.) ζd χ(οί.) γ·
 (ἀρτ.) Cκε

115 θαῖκου

Col. iv

(c. 8 lines lost)

Πγ[
 125 [
 [
 ζ/Δημητ[

- δ/Ἀφύγχ[ις
 ὁμ(οίως)/Ποτα[
 130 ὁμ(οίως)/Λουκι[
 η/Λουκ[
] τα[
 [/
]ς[.....].[
 135]Ἀντώνιοι [.....]ς[
 ζ/Ἀπία Ἡρακλᾶτος[
 ιγ/ἡ αὐτῇ Πετνή π[όλεως
 δ/Δομίτιος Διοδώρ[ου
 ιε/Ἀπιανὸς ὁ καὶ Κλ() [
 140 κη/ὁ αὐτὸς (πρότερον) κλ(ηρονόμων) Νεκ. [
 ζ/Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολ[
 δι(ὰ) Διος-]
 κουρίδου ἐπιτρόπ(ου) [
 σ/Θεογένης ὁ καὶ Λαοδικην[ός
 ὁμ(οίως) Σίμυλλις καὶ Ἡρακλ[
 145 δι(ὰ) Βησᾶτος[
 ι/Δρωσίλλα Πετσεῖρι[ς
 ὁμ(οίως)᾽ Ἀφύγχις Διονῦτος Π[
 α/Ἀπολλωνάριον Ζωιλ[
 ις/Θεμιστᾶς Ἀλεξανδρ[
 150 ζ/Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Διος[
 Αὐρήλιος Ζωίλος ὁ κ[αὶ
 [

138 δομῆτιος

(frag. b)

Col. v

- [(ῶν) δ]ι(αστ.)/ἐαυτῶ [Cε]νέπτα κώ(μης) θd χ(οί.)[.·] (ἀρτ.)].
 155 ὁμ(οίως)/ἐαυτῶ ὀνό(ματος) [Cε]νθεῦτος Π[τ]ολλᾶτ(ος)
 Σε]νέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.)[.·]
 γ τῶ αὐτῶ Πτολ[λ]ᾶτι Σένεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δd χ(οί.) δ·
]ννοῦς καὶ Ταφύγχις Σένεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) β
 αὶ] αὐταὶ Σε]νέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἡμ.) d·

- 160 ...]τας Διονῦτος *Κέννεως* πόλεως (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) γ·
 ὁ αὐτὸς *Κενέπτα* κ() κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) β·
]αῖος Προεφω() *Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) σ·
]λλους *Κέννεως* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἡμ.)·
Πατᾶς *Κελλαροῦτος* (ἀρτ.) ζδ χ(οί.) σ·
 165 α/(ὦν) δι(αστ.) *Κελλαροῦτι Γεμῇ* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ η'·
 ἐ/τῇ α(ὕτῃ) *Γεμῇ* κώ(μης) .. η'·
 ἐ]αυτῷ *Πατᾶτι Κέννεως* κώ(μης) [...]
 ...]αμῶνι *πρεσβ(υτέρῳ) Παποντῶτος*
Κενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.)·
 170] *Θαῖδι Βησᾶτος Κέννεως* κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) σ·
]. ἐξηγητ[ύσα]c θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) [
 Δ]ημήτρι[ο]c c. 12].... (ἀρτ.) [] β
 (ὦν) δι(αστ.) [πόλεως] cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) λ (ἡμ.) δ[
 πόλεως c]ὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) θ (ἡμ.) [
 175]. (ἀρτ.) η (ἡμ.) χ(οί.)[
]. (ἀρτ.) κ (ἡμ.) χ(οί.)[
]αυτῷ *Τυχ[ι]ννεκώτ[εως πόλ]εως*
 cὺν ἐπικ(λασμοῖς) καὶ παραφορέτρῳ (ἀρτ.) ιγ·
]ε. τῷ *Κενέπτα κώ(μης)* (ἀρτ.) γδ []·
 180]ντῷ *Κενέπτα πόλεως* (ἀρτ.) νγ (ἡμ.) [
κλ]η(ρονόμοις) Διονυκίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμοί Ἡρακλείδου Κέννεως [.] πόλεως
 (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.) σ·
 τοῦ]ς αὐτοῖς *Κενέπτα πόλεως* cὺν [ἐ(πικλασμοῖς)] (ἀρτ.) β (ἡμ.)
 χ(οί.) δ·
Κλαυδία?] Ἰσιδώρα ἡ λαμπροτάτη δι(ὰ) [...]. . . . ους
 185] θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) κς (ἡμ.)·
] *Θέωνος* (ἀρτ.) μα (ἡμ.)
 ε/(ὦν) δι(αστ.) ἐαυτῷ *Γεμῇ πόλεως* cὺν ἐπικ(λασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) δ[
ὀμ(οίως)/ἐαυτῷ Κεναὼ πόλεως [c]ὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) δ·
 s/ἐαυτῷ *Κενέπτα πόλ(εως)* cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) δ χ(οί.) δ·
 190 ὀμ(οίως)/Ἀννία τῇ καὶ Ἰσιδώρα *Κενέπτα πόλ(εως)* cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.)
 γδ χ(οί.) δ·
]/(πρότερον) *Χαιρήμονος Πρίμου* *Κενέπτα πόλεως* (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.) η·
]/(πρότερον) *Βησᾶ τοῦ καὶ Βησαρίωνος* ... δι(ὰ) ἐπιτη(ρητῶν)

- Κεναὼ πόλεως* (ἡμ.) δ χ(οί.) δ·
 ὀμ(οίως) *Καραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Γαλλίῳ καὶ (πρότερον) Θαισοῦτος*
 195 *Κέννεως πόλεως* (ἀρτ.) ιη (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) γ·
] τῷ α(ὕτῳ) (πρότερον?) *Διονυκίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμοί*
Κενέπτα πόλεως cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) δ (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) σ·
]/τῷ α(ὕτῳ) [τ]ῇ(ς) α(ὕτῃς) cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) πόλεως δ χ(οί.) γ·
]/τῷ α(ὕτῳ) *Κέννεως π[όλ(εως)]* cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) β·
 200]ετ[ε]υ[τι] Ἀ[πόλλων]ος *Κε[ν]ε[π]τα* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β·
 τ]ῷ α(ὕτῳ) Ἀπ[όλλων]ι Γ[] *Κεναὼ [κώ(μης)]* (ἀρτ.) βη'·
] (πρότερον?) *Βησᾶ τ[οῦ] καὶ Βησαρίωνος* ... (?) δι(ὰ) ἐπιτη(ρητῶν)
 [Κε]ναὼ [πόλεως] (ἀρτ.) δ χ(οί.) [.]·
 []
 157 τῷ corrected from ε 168 ω in αμῶνι corrected from ν 170 θαῖδι 184 and 190
 Ἰσιδώρα
 Col. vi
 205 (πρότερον) *Χαιρ[ή]μονος Πρίμου Κενέπτα πόλ(εως)* (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) σ·
 Ἀπιανῷ (?) τ]ῷ καὶ Κλ() *Κέννεως πόλ(εως)* cὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) δ χ(οί.) σ·
 τῷ α(ὕτῳ) *Γεμῇ πόλεως* ...
 κε/(πρότερον) Ἡ[ρακ]λείδ[ου] *Κτησᾶτος δι(ὰ) Χαιρήμονος* Ἡρακλείδου
Κερύφειας πόλ(εως) . .
 (m. 2) ζή(τησον) α (ἡμ.) δ
 210 (m. 1) θ/Ἀτ[. . .]ς *Βησᾶτος Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 γ/Κάστωρ Ἀμειτος *Κέννεως* κώ(μης) [
 θ/ὁ αὐτὸς Κάστωρ *Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 ὀμ(οίως) *Κενθεὺς Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 ὀμ(οίως)/ἡ αὐτὴ *Κ[ε]νέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 215 ὀμ(οίως)/*Τανινοῦθις Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 ὀμ(οίως) *Διόσκορος Εὐδαίμονος Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 ιγ/Ἀπόλλων] Ἀφ[ύ]γχιος *κυντά(ξεως) Γεμῇ κώ(μης)* [
 θ/Κο[πρ]εῦς Ἀμότιος *Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 ις/Δ[. . .] c. 8] *Δημητρία Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 220 η/Λο[ύκιος] *Κεπτίμιος Λουκιλλιανὸς* θέ(ματος) [
 κθ/Τα[.] cκε[. . .] αρίου *Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 . /Πε[. . .] c. 12] ου [(ἀρτ.)
 (ὦν)]/δι(αστ.) ἐαυτῷ *κυντά(ξεως) Γ[εμ]ῇ [κώ(μης)]*

- 225]έαυτῶ/. . . [Cενέπτα []·
 (m. 2). . . () χ(οί.) δ [/] (m. 1) κλη(ρονόμοις) Διο[σκ]όρου Ἀγην[ορ]]·
 Παμ[οῦν]ις Ζω[ίλ]ου [(ἀρτ.)
]/(ὦν)/δι(αστ.) έαυτῶ συντά(ξεως) Γεμή κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἦμ.) ἡ·
 θ/Ταπετοσίρι Cενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α d χ(οί.) σ·
 ὀμ(οίως)/έαυτῶ Παμοῦνι Cενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἦμ.) χ(οί.) γ·
 230 γ/έαυτῶ Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α d χ(οί.) ζ·
 γ/Ταβηcās Cαραπᾶτος Cέννεως κώ(μης) cὺν ἐ(πικλαςμοῖς) []
]/Ιερεῦ[ς] Ζωίλου Cενέπτα [κώ(μης)] κώ(μης) []
] Ἀπολλ[ών]ις τέκτων συντά(ξεως) Γεμή κώ(μης) []
 ὀμ(οίως)/Τεθε[ῖς] διὰ Ἀπει τοῦ καὶ Ζωίλου Γεμή κώ(μης) []
 235 ὀμ(οίως)/Κοπρ[εῦς] πρεcβ(ύτερος) συντά(ξεως) Γεμή κώ(μης) []
 θ/Διονύσιος Ποτάμωνος Cενέπτα κώ(μης) []
 ὀμ(οίως)/Κοπρ[εῦς] πρεcβ(ύτερος) Cενέπτα κώ(μης) []
 ὀμ(οίως)/Τανι[ο]ῦθις Cενέπτα κώ(μης) []
 ὀμ(οίως) Τε. λοκους δι(ὰ) Ἀτρήτος Cενέπτα κώ(μης) []
 240 Αὐρηλία Πτολεμαῖς ἡ καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρα [(ἀρτ.)
 ιε/(ὦν) δι(αστ.) έαυτῇ Γεμή πόλεως (ἀρτ.) ι (ἦμ.) d χ(οί.) γ·
 γ/Παμβῆκι Φανίωνος Cέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἦμ.) d ἡ·
 α/Τε[. . .] Cέν<ν>εως πόλεως (ἀρτ.) β (ἦμ.) d ἡ·
 γ/ πρεc[β(υτέρω)] Cέννεως κώ(μης) β (ἦμ.)·
 245 θ/τῶ α(ὕτῶ) [C]ενέπτ[α] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α·
 / c. 7] Cε[νέπτ]α κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) η d χ(οί.) ζ·
 c. 14] φύγχιος Cενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·
 (ἀρτ.) ρνδd χ(οί.) θ

232 ἱερεὺς 240 πτολεμαῖς

(frag. c)

Col. vii

- 250] . . . λ[] Πατ[]
 δ/(ὦν) δι(αστ.)[]
 ι/έα[υτῶ]
] ωρις []
]/(ὦν) δι(αστ.)[]
 255] Ἀπια[]

-] . c []
] C[]
 κθ/(ὦν) δι(αστ.) [έαν]τῇ Π[]
]/έπικλας(μῶν) έαυτῇ []
 260 ιε/έαυτῇ έπικλας(μῶν) []
] . ιν[. . .]ος Πάσιτος []
 ις/(ὦν) δι(αστ.) έαυ[τῶ] Cεν[]
 θ/έαυτῶ []
 / Cαραεῦτ[ι]
 265]/Παστριγ[]
] . ατος Π[]
 Cεν[]
]ηcατο[]
] . χρη(ματίζ) [μητ(ρὸς)]
 270] (ὦν) δι(αστ.) έαυ[τῶ]
 έ[αυτῶ] []

(frag. d)

(detached fragment)

-] Παρμενα . []
]/(ὦν) δι(αστ.) έαυτῶ Cεν[]
]/έαυτῶ ἀλων[ιῶν]
 275]/έαυτῶ ζευγῶ(ν) []
] Διογένους []
] ρήνου []
] . Ἀπίωνος[]
] . . . c[]

Col. i. 'NN son of Panares, 6 art., of which were transferred for himself, for village dues at Sennis, 2 art.; for himself, village dues at Senepta, 4 art.

NN son of Aphynchis, village dues at Sennis, 6½ art. 2 ch. . . . village dues at the same village, 3 ch. NN child of Teeus, village dues at Senepta, ¼ art. NN, village dues at Senepta, ½ art. [The same,] village dues at Sennis, . . . NN, village dues at Sennis, ½ art. 8 ch. NN, Sennis, village dues, 2 ch. [The same,] Senepta, village dues, ¼ art. . . . ch. . . . for epiklasmoi, Sennis, village dues. . . . Senepta, village dues, ¼ art. 2 ch. NN, Senepta, village dues, 1 art. 2 ch. [The same,] Senepta, village dues, . . . 4 ch.

NN, 5 art., of which were transferred for . . . , village dues, 2 art. . . . 3 art.
 NN, village dues at . . . , ½ art. . . . ch. NN, Senepta, village dues, ¼ art. 8 ch.

NN, 9 art., of which were transferred for... for village dues at Sennis, ... village dues at Senepta...

NN, 2 art., of which were transferred for... for village dues at Senepta, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.; for... Senepta, village dues, 8 ch.

NN, 13 art. 8 ch., of which were transferred for... for municipal dues at... 12 art. 4 ch.; for... municipal dues at the same village, 4 ch.; for... municipal dues at Geme, 1 art.

NN $6\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch., of which were transferred for... for syntaxis at Geme, village dues, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art.; for... syntaxis at Sennis, village dues, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 9 ch.; for NN, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.; for NN, municipal dues at Sennis, 2 art. 8 ch.

NN, Sennis, village dues, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.; [the same,] Senepta, village dues, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... ch. NN, bastard child of Marous, Senepta, village dues, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... ch.

NN, bastard child of Tayris, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 4 ch., of which were transferred for... for village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art.; for... village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{4}$ art. 4 ch.

(Total) ... $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7 ch.

Col. ii. 'Bes son of NN, Senepta (?)...

Zoilus son of Zoilus... of which were transferred 4. for himself, Sennis, village dues, 10 art. 10. for himself, Sennis, village dues, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... ch.

10. Sarapous daughter of Besas, Senepta, village, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7. Properties formerly belonging to the heirs of Severus, but now to the most sacred fiscus, through Serenus, farmer, $64\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit. 5. and through Syron, farmer from Tampiti, 2 art. deposit. ditto. and through Apollo and Copreus from the Nomu Epoikion, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit. ditto. and through Hierus, farmer from the Nomu Epoikion, 69 art. deposit. 8. Besarion also called Prophetes through Hierus son of Zoilus, 40 art. deposit. 10. Thatres daughter of Polydas, Senepta, village dues, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. (marginal note) Sennis, $9\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. 4. The same, Sennis, village dues, $9\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. 7. Properties formerly belonging to the heirs of Severus, but now to the most sacred fiscus, through Copreus, farmer, ... deposit. 4. Heirs of Sarapos son of Pnepheris, Sennis... 8. Heirs of Theophile daughter of Proclus, through Ammonius, farmer... 10. Theonilla daughter of Phocas, Pela, municipal dues, inclusive of epiklasmoi... Diogenis daughter of Hierakion, Geme, village... Zoilus, son of Domittius, and Tsentheus... Cornelius son of Saras, Senepta... The same, Sennis... Pambekis son of Pambekis, Sennis... 5. Ptolemaeus son of Pyrrhus, syntaxis at Senao, village account... 10. Aphynchis son of Amois, Senepta, village dues, 1 art. 4. Onnophris son of Zoilus, Sennis, village, 6 ch. 6. Theon son of Demetrius through Besas, farmer, Senepta, municipal dues, 10 art. 1. Thaisas daughter of Hermogenes, municipal dues at Sennis, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. 4. Taaphynchis daughter of Hermogenes, Sennis, village, 9 ch. 10. The same, Senepta, village, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4. Pambekis son of Zoilus, Sennis, village, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 6 ch. 10. The same, Senepta, village, 8 ch.

Sarapias also called Thaisous, through Ptolis, farmer, 14 art., of which were transferred 5. for herself, Geme, municipal dues inclusive of epiklasmoi, $6\frac{1}{2}$ art. 8 ch. 6. for herself, Senepta, municipal dues inclusive of epiklasmoi, 7 art. 2 ch.

16. Ptolion and Pekysis and Dionysius, syntaxis at Geme, village account, $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. 1. Thaisas daughter of Hermogenes, Sennis, municipal dues, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. 4. Taalos daughter of Horos, Sennis, village dues, 1 art. 3 ch. 10. The same, village dues at... $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.

(Total) $248\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.

Col. iii. 'Sennis... ditto. for himself NN, Senepta, municipal account, ... Andromachus son of Aperos and Lucius NN and associates... for municipal dues at Senepta, 43 art. Petronia, bastard daughter of Polydous, $23\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit. Apollonius, grinder, village dues at Sennis, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. Heirs of Pnepheris son of Pasion, village dues at Sennis, 4 art. Ptolemaeus son of Philostratus, village dues at Sennis, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 9 ch. 4. Hierus son of Papontos, syntaxis at Petne, village account, 4 ch. Iulia Demetria and Lucia daughter of Gaius... through Petermouthis, farmer, 2 art. deposit. Dioscorus son of Eudaemon, syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. NN and Pekrouris, syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. NN child of Ptolias and Polydas son of... village dues at... $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. NN bastard child of Taammenus, Petne, village dues, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. NN child of Psois, syntaxis at Petne, village account, 6 ch. NN child of Diocles, Geme, municipal account, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. NN, Senepta, municipal account, ... 4 ch. ... Senepta, village account, 2 art. ... Petne, village account, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. ditto... syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. ditto. NN child of Papontos,

syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. ditto. Zoilus son of Pambekis, syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.

Ptolemaeus son of Pyrrhus, 2 art. 4 ch., of which were transferred 14. for himself, for syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. 6. for Tayris bastard daughter of Glaphyras, Senepta, municipal account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art.

8. Aelius Ammonion and Philiscus, $43\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. deposit. 6. Tayris bastard daughter of Glaphyras, municipal dues at Senepta, ... 4 ch. 9. Ptolemaeus son of Herakleides...

Sarapias also called Thaisous, through Vestinus, farmer, 41 art. 8 ch., of which were transferred 29. for herself, municipal dues at Pela, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 1 art. 1. for herself, municipal dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $10\frac{1}{2}$ art. 30. for herself, municipal dues at Senao, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 3 art. 7. for herself, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $26\frac{1}{2}$ art. 8 ch.

Anthestius also called Sarapion, son of Cleon, 30 art., of which were transferred 1. for himself, for municipal dues at Psinaranachthis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $22\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7 ch. 7. for himself, municipal dues at Senepta, $7\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.

(Total) 225 art.

Col. iv is too mutilated for translation.

Col. v. 'NN, ... art., of which were transferred ... for himself, village dues at Senepta, $9\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... ch. ditto. for himself, in the name of Sentheus daughter of Ptolias, village dues at Senepta, 1 art. ... ch. 3. for the same Ptolias, village dues at Sennis, $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch.

NN and Taaphynchis, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. The same, village dues at Senepta, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. NN son of Dionys, municipal dues at Sennis, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch. The same, village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. NN, village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. NN, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art.

Patas bastard son of Kellarous, $7\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch., of which were transferred 1. for Kellarous, village dues at Geme, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 5. for the same woman, village dues at Geme, ... for Patas himself, village dues at Sennis, ... for NN the elder, son of Papontos, village dues at Senepta, 2 art. ... ch. ... for Thais daughter of Besas, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch.

NN, once exegetes ... deposit.

... Demetrius ... of which were transferred ... municipal dues at... inclusive of epiklasmoi $30\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... municipal dues inclusive of epiklasmoi, $9\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... $8\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... ch. ... $20\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... ch. for... municipal dues at Tychnnekotis, inclusive of epiklasmoi and transport charge, 13 art. ... for NN, village dues at Senepta, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art.; for NN, municipal dues at Senepta, $53\frac{1}{2}$ art. ... for the heirs of Dionysius also called Amois ... municipal dues at Sennis, 2 art. 6 ch. ... for the same, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. ... for Claudia (?) Isidora the most brilliant, through ... $26\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit.

NN son of Theon, $41\frac{1}{2}$ art., of which were transferred 5. for himself, municipal dues at Geme, inclusive of epiklasmoi, ... ditto, for himself, municipal dues at Senao, inclusive of epiklasmoi, ... 6. for himself, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. ditto, for Annia also called Isidora, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. ... to the account for properties formerly owned by Chaeremon son of Primus, municipal dues at Senepta, 1 art. 8 ch. ... to the account for properties formerly owned by Besas also called Besarion ... through the overseers, for municipal dues at Senao, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 4 ch. ditto, for Sarapion also called Gallio, and to the account for properties formerly belonging to Thaisous, municipal dues at Sennis, $18\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch. ... for the same ... for properties formerly belonging to Dionysius also called Amois, son of Herakleides, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. ... for the same, municipal dues for the same village, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.; ... for the same, municipal dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. ... for NN child of Apollo ... village dues at Senepta, 2 art. ... for the same Apollo ... village dues at Senao, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art.; ... to the account for properties formerly owned by Besas also called Besarion, through the overseers, municipal dues for Senao...

Col. vi' ... to the account of properties formerly owned by Chaeremon son of Primus, municipal dues at Senepta, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. ... for Apianus (?) also called Cl(), municipal dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. ... for the same, municipal dues at Geme...

25. Account for properties formerly belonging to Herakleides son of Ktesas, through Chaeremon son of Herakleides, municipal dues at Seryphis, ... (marginal note) look up $1\frac{1}{2}$. 9. NN child of Besas,

village dues at Senepta...3. Castor son of Ameis, village dues at Sennis...9. the same Castor, village dues at Senepta...ditto, Sentheus, village dues at Senepta...ditto, the same, village dues at Senepta...ditto, Taninouthis, village dues at Senepta...ditto, Dioscorus son of Eudaemon, village dues at Senepta...13. Apollo son of Aphynchis, syntaxis at Geme, village account...9. Copeus son of Amois, village dues at Senepta...16...Demetria, village dues at Senepta...8. Lucius Septimius Lucillianus...deposit. 29. NN, village dues at Senepta...

NN...art., of which were transferred...for himself, syntaxis at Geme, village account...for himself...at Senepta...(marginal note)...4 ch. (1st hand) for the heirs of Dioscorus son of NN...

Pamounis son of Zoilus...art., of which were transferred...for himself, syntaxis at Geme, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 9. for Tapetosiris, village dues at Senepta, $1\frac{1}{4}$ art. 6 ch. ditto. for himself, Pamounis, village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch. 3. for himself, village dues at Sennis, $1\frac{1}{4}$ art. 7 ch.

3. Tabesas daughter of Sarapas, village dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi...Hiereus son of Zoilus, village dues at Senepta...Apollonius the carpenter, syntaxis at Geme, village account...ditto. Tetheus, through Apis and Zoilus, village dues at Geme...ditto. Copeus the elder, syntaxis at Geme, village account...9. Dionysius son of Potamon, village dues at Senepta...ditto, Copeus the elder, village dues at Senepta...ditto, Taninouthis, village dues at Senepta...ditto, NN through Hatres, village dues at Senepta...

Aurelia Ptolemais also called Artemidora...art., of which were transferred 15. for herself, municipal dues at Geme, $10\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch. 3. for Pambekis son of Phanion, village dues at Sennis, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 1. for NN, municipal dues at Sennis, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3. for NN the elder, village dues at Sennis, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 9. for the same, village dues at Senepta, 1 art...village dues at Senepta, $8\frac{1}{4}$ art 7 ch...village dues at Senepta, 4 art.

(Total) $154\frac{1}{4}$ art. 9 ch.'

Cols. vii and viii are too mutilated for translation.

1 (ἀρτ.): 5: not the total of grain on hand in the depositor's account, but the total expended during the period covered by this report.

2 (ἄν) κτλ.: for the restoration cf. e.g. 44 ff. The symbol reproduced and discussed in XII 1444. 10 note should be resolved as here. In the present text it takes the more characteristic right-angle form, on which see P. Berl. Leihg. 13, critical note to ll. 9 and 15. (τούτων) is also possible, but cf. XXII 2346. 41 and 45; P. Teb. I 60. 15 n.

δι(α)σταλεί(σ)αι: better than δι(ε)στάλη(σ)αι; cf. XXII 2346. 15 *et passim*, where μετ(ρη)θεί(σ)αι should be read following P. Petaus 43. 27. So also in XII 1444. 10 and often. Entries introduced in this way record giro transfers of grain of the sort known through orders to pay in the διαστολικόν form and receipts introduced by διεστάλη(σ)αι (bibliography in XXXI 2588-2591 int.; 3179 int.).

ἐαυτῷ ἑννεως: i.e. to pay the depositor's own taxes or rents on land he owns or leases from the government in the area for which the inhabitants of Sennis bore collectively the responsibility for seeing that such taxes and rents were paid.

ἑννεως: the large number of persons who pay dues on land both at Sennis and at Senepta (central toparchy) suggests that the two were located fairly near each other.

κῶ(μ)η(ς): the payment is to be credited to the account of the villagers of Sennis as distinct from that of the metropolitan absentee landlords: see 3181. 5 note. The expansion κῶ(μ)η(ς) seems the natural opposition to πόλεως, which is written in full many times (e.g. 23 ff.). In XII 1444. 14 *et passim*, the editors expand κωμη(η)τικά, and l. 19, κωμη(η) shows that κῶ(μ)η(ς) is not right for that text; presumably κωμη(η)τῶν and πολλ(ῶ)ν should be read as suggested in l. 11 note.

8 restore ὁ αὐτός or ἡ αὐτή.

10 {(ἀρτ.)} χ(οί.) β: either the artaba sign is superfluous and should be cancelled (cf. l. 29), or the fraction d should be inserted between (ἀρτ.) and χ(οί.).

11 Cf. 8 note.

12 ἐπι(κ)λας(μῶν): cf. 259, 260; εὐν ἐ(πικ)λαςμοῖς l. 78 and often. Other references to this land tax are P. Teb. II 373. 12; 470; B.G.U. IV 920. 24; P. Rendel Harris 139. 5-6; P. Oslo III 154. 13-14; S.B. VI 8971. 12; VI 899. 9; IX 1208. 21 and 23; XIV 1638. 28; 1700. 18-19; 1704. 15. With one exception (l. 231) the present account records ἐπικλαςμοί only on land owned by metropolitans.

A money tax of the same name in P. Teb. II 391. 27 f., to be collected by πράκτορες λοογραφίας, has no apparent connexion with land; cf. also the unclear P.S.I. I 105. 20; Wallace, *Taxation*, 26 f. and 70 f.

29 ἡ ἀ(ὐ)τή): written too far right to refer to the payee of the diastolikon; not, therefore, a mistake for τῇ αὐτῇ but for τῆς αὐτῆς, replacing a village name. The same case confusion occurs in XII 1444. 19 and often.

32 συντά(ξ)εω(ς): cf. lines 33, 68, 94, 97, 98, 101, 106-8, 110, 217, 223, 227, 233, 235. This seems the only expansion possible, since συντάξιμον was a capitation tax in money and no charge listed by Wallace would suit the interpretation εὐν τα(). Cf. P.S.I. VII 739. 11-12 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 163) τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων κ(αί) συντάξιω[ν]. Ὀύνταξις was a charge intended to support temples: Wallace pp. 29 and 239 ff.; Otto, *Priester und Tempel* 1 366 ff.; E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 15 (1965) 166 f. In the present text small payments for syntaxis are recorded only for villagers from Geme, Sennis, Senao and Petne.

45 δ: either the day on which the transaction took place or the κόλλημα of a roll in which it could be verified. The latter is more probable because XXII 2346, which records payments in kind much as the present text records payments by διαστολικά, gives κόλλημα numbers but not dates.

53 Ἱερέως Ζωίλου: cf. l. 232.

57 Added between the existing lines by 2nd hand to incorporate the information given in the marginalia.

68 Πτολεμαῖος Πύρρον: cf. l. 109.

72 Θαικάς Ἐρμολέων: cf. l. 81.

77 Σαραπίας ἡ καὶ Θαικοῦς: cf. l. 115.

83 Σε[ν]: Σε[ν]έπτα, Σε[ν]αῶ, or Σε[ν]εως.

89 κ(): cf. l. 161. κ(εφαλαιωταί) is perhaps the most probable expansion. Beta could be read instead of kappa.

91 ἀλέτης: in papyri only here and P. Hibeh II 268 int.

97 Διόσκορος Εὐδαίμωνος: cf. l. 216.

111 Ταῦρι Γλαφυρῶτος = Ταῦρι χρηματιζούση μητρὸς Γ.: cf. 113. The text is sound in both places. Another example of the mother's name in this position is P. Mich. XI 608. 19 Αὐρήλιος Ὀνοφρίου (l.-ος) Παχήλ; cf. also P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 49i verso 15, iv verso 1; P. Mich. X 595. 8 note; line 164 below.

121 Ψιναρανάχθεως: not known elsewhere.

139 Ἀπιανὸς ὁ καὶ Κλ(): cf. l. 206.

140 ὁ αὐτὸς (πρότερον) κλ(ηρονόμων) Νεκ[]: that is, Apianus is credited with a payment on property which once belonged to the heirs of N. but has since been acquired by himself; cf. int. Similarly XXII 2346. 16 and 37, where (πρότερον) must be read for ed. ἀ(πό) (not l. 49, where ed.'s bizarre (πρό)τερ(ον) cannot be right).

143 Θεογένης ὁ καὶ Λαοδικην[ός]: probably to be identified with the Θεογένει τῷ καὶ Λαδικηνῶι who was city scribe of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 154 (XXXI 2564. 1 note).

155 ὀνό(ματος) = διά, for which cf. l. 77 *et passim*. Sentheus is a tenant, in all likelihood a sub-lessee of state land rented by the account holder. Since the latter remained ultimately responsible for the rents due, the payment by Sentheus was credited to him. See Stud. Pal. XVII p. 40; P. Cair. Isid. pp. 56-7. Similarly XII 1444. 26 and XXII 2346. 6, 43 and 57, where ὀνό(ματος) should be read for ed.'s ὀνό(ματι).

164 Πατάς] Κελλαροῦτος: the restoration is certain; cf. l. 167, and for the omission of χρηματί-ζων μητρὸς l. 111 note.

178 παραφορέτρω: addendum lexicis. Carrying charges (φόρετρα) on ἐπικλαςμοί are found also in P. Teb. II 470. 5.

179]ε.τω: not ἐαυτῷ.

180]υτω: not τῷ α]ὐτῷ referring to the person in l. 179, because the same individual cannot pay dues both as a villager and as a metropolitan. ἐαυτῷ referring back to the account holder would be possible, but then his name would be expected to follow as in lines 167 and 229.

181 Διονυσιῶν τοῦ καὶ Ἀμοῖ: cf. l. 196; P. Fouad 32. 17-18; P. Strasb. 191. 10. The Fouad text shows that this individual was still alive in A.D. 174, which accordingly is a *terminus post quem* for

the present document. On the formation of the late short genitive *Ἀμοί* see Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. II, 60A(6), pp. 45 f.

184 *Κλαυδία* (?): this is the only known Oxyrhynchite Isidora of the period who is likely to be called *λαμπροτάτη*, and *Κλαυδία* suits the space available. For references see XXXI 2566. 6 note.

190 *Ἀννία*: the reading is certain.

191 (*πρότερον*) *Χαιρήμωνος Πρίμο[υ]*: cf. l. 205; 140 n.

192 (*πρότερον*) *Βησά τοῦ καὶ Βησαρίωνος*: cf. l. 202; 140 n.

196 The name after *τῷ α(ὐτῷ)* is not one of those in l. 194.

202 For the supplement cf. l. 192.

215 *Ταννοῦθις*: cf. l. 238.

224 The mutilated word is presumably the name of a tax.

225 .() *χ(ολ.) δ*: the abbreviation is conceivably (*ἐκατοστῶν*) or *πρ(ομετρουμένων)*.

235 *Κοπρ[εῦς]*: cf. l. 237.

240 The number of artabas cannot be restored because it is not certain that the list of Ptolemais's expenditures ended with this column.

274 *ἀλων[ίων]*: on state charges for the use of threshing-floors see Wallace p. 324.

275 *ζευγῶ(ν)*: not *ζευγμ(ατικῶν)*, which in any case was a money tax. A Ptolemaic charge for *ζεύγη* is known from W.O. 1028, cf. W.O. I pp. 219 and 755. This is the only occurrence in a text of Roman date.

3170. ACCOUNTS FROM THE GRANARY AT SINARY

37 3B.87/G (I-II) verso

(a) 5.5 × 16 cm. (b) 36 × 31 cm. (c) 66 × 31 cm.

Third century

Four distinct but related groups of work notes concerning the state granary at Sinary, written on the back of 3169. The transactions recorded took place in regnal years 10/11 of an unnamed emperor (line 115). Since a reasonable time lapse must be allowed between 3169 (between A.D. 174 and 212) and the use of its verso for the present text, the reign of Severus and Caracalla (11th year A.D. 202/3) is probably too early. More plausible are the reigns of Alexander Severus (11th year A.D. 231/2) and Gallienus (11th year A.D. 263/4). On palaeographic grounds the earlier date is preferable.

1. Lines 1-110 and 119-25. Summaries of grain received for the monartabia tax for the months Epeiph, Mesore, Thoth and Phaophi (27 June-23 October) of years 10/11, as well as a fragment which may come from the account for Payni of year 10. The texts distinguish consistently between grain paid directly at Sinary itself and that *ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων* (l. 52 note). These other localities are listed in each account following the revenue from Sinary: if there is an organizing principle in the lists, it is at least not alphabetical or geographical. More than half of the grain for monartabia credited to Sinary during Epeiph, Mesore and Thoth was received or booked by giro-transfer from elsewhere: 1,686 art. 33 ch. *ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων* out of a total 3,354 art. 3 ch. Cf. the extensive giro activity indicated in 3169.

Work notes of this nature were no doubt used in drawing up such monthly reports as those listed by Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 371 n. 43.

2. Lines 111-18. In space left vacant at the bottom of the short column iv was

3170. ACCOUNTS FROM GRANARY AT SINARY

written a statement of the total grain for monartabia delivered for the months Pachon-Choiaik (26 April-26 December). Income was high for the chief harvest month of Pachon, reached a peak of 3,841 art. 17 ch. for Payni, and thereafter declined rapidly to a low of 50 artabae for Hathyr. These figures roughly correlate with the relative abundance of wheat available according to the time elapsed since harvest: cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 162 ff.; Z. Packman, *Taxes in Grain* (Toronto, 1968), p. 59.

3. Lines 126-246. A list of the villages from which grain for monartabia was paid into Sinary, together with the amounts received per village for each of the six months Payni-Hathyr (26 May-26 November). Later the same hand added entries also for Mecheir (26 January-24 February), skipping over Choiaik and Tybi; these additions are ignored in the totals given at the bottom of each column. The villages are arranged by toparchy, the latter so far as preserved being listed in standard order (Upper, Western, Eastern, Middle, Thmoisepho, Lower: see e.g. X 1285. 51 ff.). Of these the listing for the upper toparchy is incomplete; and that for the lower, if it was ever written on this papyrus, is lost altogether.

4. Lines 247-67. Summary list of taxes to be collected in grain from metropolitan landholders at Sinary in year 10, with some interesting entries.

A few highly cursive and mutilated lines probably in a second hand above cols. ix-xi have no apparent pertinence to the other accounts and are not transcribed here. Among scattered figures on the recto (3169 col. iv) occurs the following list, from a text which must have been similar to the summaries in section 1, but arranged by toparchy: *Κερύφειος* (ἀρτ.) ιβ | *Πέλα* (ἀρτ.) ι | *Κενοκώμ(εως)* (ἀρτ.) ε | *Κεκεκελ(εῦ)* (ἀρτ.) ζ | *Κύρων* (ἀρτ.) β | (*γίνονται*) λς | *Ἐντίεως* κγ | *Κκῶ κζ* | *Μονίμου* ο[| *Ἀθύχεως* ιδ | *Χύσεως* κα | *Μερμέρθ(ων)* ζ | *Νεσμίμ(εως)* δ | ... The first five entries are all from the Western toparchy, the remainder from the Upper.

A checking dot to the upper right appears after figures in ll. 126, 163 and 237. All calculations are based on the forty-choenix artaba.

(fragment a)

Col. i

↓

· · · · ·
[*Ἰκίου Τρύφων[ος*
[*ἄλλ(αι)*] (*ἀρτάβαι*) ρπ
[*ἄλλ(αι)*] (*ἀρτ.*) ιε
ἄλλ(αι) (*ἀρτ.*) μς
5 *ἄλλ(αι)* (*ἀρτ.*) ζ
ἄλλ() (*ἀρτ.*) [
ἄλλ() [
Τήε[ως
Κεντ[ῶ

- 10 Ἀθύχ[εως
 Ταμπ[έμου
 Φθώχ[εως
 Σεφώ [
 Cκώ [
 15 Θμοιν[εψώβθεως
 Ψώβ[θεως
 Νε[μερῶν
 Ἐν[τίεως

γ(ίνονται) ἀ[π' ἄλλων τόπων (ἀρτ.)

- 20 γ(ίνονται) .[
 fragment (b)

Col. ii

Μεσορῇ εἰς μηνιῆον

Ἐπίφ.

Σιναρὺ συνερέμ(ατος) (μοναρταβίας) C

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ρν

- 25 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) φ

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ρ

γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτ.) λν

Τυχινφάγων (μοναρτ.) οα

Νεμερῶν (μοναρτ.) οβ

- 30 Ταμπέμου (μοναρτ.) ρ

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) δ

Ψώβθεως κάτ(ω) (μοναρτ.) λε

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ς

Σεφώ (μοναρτ.) ξδ χ(οί.) η

- 35 Κερκ[εμ]οῦ[ν]εως ἐξ ἀν-

τιπ[. . .]. [(μον)](ῆ) (ἀρτ.) [λ]ηd χ(οί.) ς

Κερκ[εῦρω]ν [(μοναρτ.)] π

Σεντ[ώ] (μοναρτ.) ιε

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ς

- 40 Μονίμου (μοναρτ.) μ

Ἐντίεως (μοναρτ.) δ

Τήεως (μοναρτ.) γ

Κεσμούχεως (μοναρτ.) ιε

Ἀθύχεως (μοναρτ.) ιη χ(οί.) β

- 45 Cκώ (μοναρτ.) ιε

Ἰσίου Τ[ρ]ύφωνος (μοναρτ.) ρ

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ν

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ρι

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ι

- 50 Φοβώ[ο]ν (μοναρτ.) λθ (ἡμιν) χ(οί.) β

Θμοινεψώβθεως (μοναρτ.) C

γ(ίνονται) ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων (ἀρτ.) ἈςC χ(οί.) η

γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ἀρτ.) Βμς χ(οί.) η

21 l. μηνιαῖον 23 l. συναίρεματος 24 etc. α — 46 ἱεῖον

Col. iii

[Θώθ εἰς μ]ηνιῆον Μ[ε]ρ[ο]ρή.

- 55 [Cιναρὺ c]υνερέμ(ατος) (μοναρτ.) Cγ

[ἄλ]λ(αι) (μοναρτ.) C

ἄλ[λ(αι)] (ἀρτ.) ο

ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) μ γ(ίνονται) φξ

Ὠφέως (μοναρτ.) π

- 60 ἄλλ(η) (μοναρτ.) α

Ἰεμῇ (μοναρτ.) κδ

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ς

Νόμου Ἐποικίον (μοναρτ.) κε

ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) [δ]

- 65 Τόκα (μοναρτ.) γ

[Ἰσίου]ν Τρύφωνος (μον[αρτ.] [

[Θμοι]νεψώ[β]θεως (μοναρτ.) [

[Ταμπέμ]ον (μοναρτ.) [ιη (ἡμιν)]

[Ἐν]τίεως (μοναρτ.) α

- 70 ἄ[λλ(αι)] (μοναρτ.) β

[Cι]γκέφα (μοναρτ.) ο[ε]

ἄ[λλ(αι)] (μοναρτ.) ζ

Παίμειως (μοναρτ.) η

Μερμέρθων (μοναρτ.) ι[d] χ(οί.) ζ

- 75 Τανάεως (μοναρτ.) γ

- [ἄλ]λ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ιδ
 [...]εως (μοναρτ.) ε (ἡμις)
 [Cκ]ὼ (μοναρτ.) γ
 [Πε]τνῆ (μοναρτ.) ια
 80 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) θ
 [Π]εννὼ (μοναρτ.) ε
 [Cέ]ςφθα (μοναρτ.) ε
 Ἰςτρου (μοναρτ.) β
 Ψώβθεως ἀπηλιώτου (μοναρτ.) ε
 85 Νεμερῶν (μοναρτ.) η
 Κε[ε]μούχεως (μοναρτ.) β
 Cερύφεως (μοναρτ.) ι[α]
 γ(ίνονται) ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων (ἀρτ.) [υ]μδ χ(οί.) ζ
 γ(ίνονται) τοῦ] μηνὸς (ἀρτ.) [᾽Ad χ(οί.)] ζ
 54 l. μηνιαῖον 55 l. συναρέματος 61 ἱεμη 73 παῖμεως
- Col. iv
- 90 Φαῶφι εἰς μηνιῆ[ον]
 Θῶθ.
 Cινα[ρ]ὺ συνερέμ(ατος)
 (μοναρτ.) ρ ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ν
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ζ γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ρνζ
 95 Θώλθεως κάτω (μοναρτ.) κδ
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ι
 Πακερκῆ ἀπηλιώτου (μοναρτ.) κ (ἡμις)
 Φοβώου (μοναρτ.) κγ χ(οί.) η
 Θμορνεψώβθεως (μοναρτ.) ε
 100 Μερμέρθων (μοναρτ.) ε
 Χύσεως (μοναρτ.) α
 Πεγνὼ (μον[?]αρτ.) γ
 Πετνῆ [(μοναρτ.) β (ἡμις)]
 Cερύφε[ως (μοναρτ.) ι]
 105 Κερκεμού[νεως (μοναρτ.) κέ]
 Cινκέφα (ἀρτ.) ια
 Ἀθύχεως (μοναρτ.) δ
 Ἰκίου Τρύφωνος (μοναρτ.) ζ (ἡμις)

- γ(ίνονται) ἀπ' [ἄ]λλων τόπων (ἀρτ.) ρν (ἡμις) χ(οί.) η
 110 γ(ίνονται) [τ]οῦ μην[ὸ]ς (ἀρτ.) τζ (ἡμις) χ(οί.) η
 c. 3 cm. blank

- Παχὼν (ἀρτ.) ᾽BC
 Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ᾽Γωμαδ χ(οί.) ζ
 ᾽Επεῖφ (ἀρτ.) ᾽Bμς χ(οί.) η
 Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ᾽Ad χ(οί.) ζ
 115 ια (ἔτους) Θῶ[θ] (ἀρτ.) τζ (ἡμις) χ(οί.) η
 Φαῶφ[ι] (ἀρτ.) ρθ
 ᾽A[θ]ὺ[ρ] (ἀρτ.) ν
 X[οίακ] (ἀρτ.) C
 90 l. μηνιαῖον 91 l. συναρέματος 108 ἱκίου 112 παῦνι

Col. v

- ᾽A[θ]ὺρ εἰς μηνιῆον
 120 Φ[αῶφ]ι
 C[ιναρὺ συνερέμ(ατος) (μοναρτ.)
 K[
 K[
 T[
 125 .[

(fragment c)

Col. vi

-] (ἀρτ.) κ.
 [Cινκέφα]
 [Θῶθ ὑπ(έρ) Μεσορῆ (μον)](?αρτ.) οε
 [ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.)] ζ
 130 [Φαῶφι ὑπ(έρ) Θῶθ (μον)](?αρτ.) ια
 [᾽Aθύχεως]
 [᾽Επεῖφ ὑπ(έρ) Παῦνι (μοναρτ.) .]χ(οί.) ζ

Col. vii

- [Μεσορῆ ὑπ(έρ) ᾽Επεῖφ [(μον)](?αρτ.) ιη χ(οί.) β
 [Φαῶφι] ὑπ(έρ) Θῶθ (μοναρτ.) δ
 135 [᾽Εντί]εως

- [Ἐπεὶφ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (μοναρτ.) δ
 [Μεσορ]ῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) δ
 [Θῶθ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) α
 [ἄλ]λ(αι) (ἀρτ.) β
 140 [Με]ρμέρθ(ων)
 [Θ]ῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσο[ρῆ] (μοναρτ.) ιδ χ(οί.) ζ
 [Φ]αῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ [θ] (μοναρτ.) ε
 [Ἄ]θῦρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαῶ[φι] (μοναρτ.) δ
 [Cκ]ῶ
 145 [Ἐ]πεὶφ [ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι] (μοναρτ.) ε
 [Μεσορῆ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (μοναρτ.) ιε
 Θῶθ [ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορ]ῆ (μοναρτ.) γ
 Μονίμου Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) μ
 Κερκεμούνεωσ
 150 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) ληδ χ(οί.) σ
 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ [(ἀρτ.)] κε
 Αἰβ(ός)
 Cερύφεωσ
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ [(μοναρτ.) ι]α
 155 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ [(μοναρτ.)] ι
 Cύρων
 Χοίακ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἄθῦρ (ἀρτ.) η
 C[θ]ζ (ῆμις) δη'
- Col. viii
- Παείμεωσ
 160 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) η
 Ἀπηλ(ιώτου)
 Πακερκῆ ἀπηλ(ιώτου)
 Φαῶφ[ι] ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) κ (ῆμις)·
 [T]αμπέμου
 165 [Ἐ]πεὶφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ν
 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) ρ
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) δ

- Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ιη (ῆμις)
 Ὡφεωσ
 170 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) M[ε]ρῆ (ἀρτ.) π
 ἄλλ(η) (ἀρτ.) α
 Μεχεῖρ (μον)[(?αρτ.)]
 ἄλλ() (μον)[(?αρτ.)]
 ἄλλ() (μον)[(?αρτ.)]
 175 Φοβώου
 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) [Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) λθ (ῆμις) χ(οί.) β]
 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) κγ χ(οί.) [η]
 Χοίακ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἄθῦρ (ἀρτ.) ι
 Ψώβθεωσ
 180 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ε
 Ἄθῦρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαῶφι (ἀρτ.) ζ
 Φθώκεωσ
 Ἐπεὶφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) η
 τσηδ
 165 παῦνι
- Col. ix
- 185 [Θμοινειψώβθεωσ]
 [Ἐπεὶφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι]
 [Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) C]
 [Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ]
 [Φ]αῶφι [ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) ε]
 190 [X]οίακ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἄθῦρ
 Μεχεῖρ [
 ἄλλ() [
 Μέσης Τοπ(αρχίας)
 Νόμου Ἐποικ(ίου)
 195 Θῶθ [ὑ]π(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) κε
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) δ
 Κερκεύρων
 Μεσορ[ῆ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) π

- 200 Ἀθὺρ ὑπ(ἐρ) [Φ]αῶφι (ἀρτ.) β
 Νεμερ[ῶ]ν
 Ἐπεῖφ ὑ[π(ἐρ)] Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ζ
 Μεσορῇ [ὑ]π(ἐρ) [Ἐπ]εῖφ (ἀρτ.) οβ
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῇ (ἀρτ.) η
 [[Ἀκδ]]
 205 Ἀψμβ (ἡμικυ) .πη.
 Col. x
 Τόκα
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῇ (ἀρτ.) γ
 Πεννώ
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῇ (ἀρτ.) ε
 210 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) γ
 Ἴστρου
 Θ[ῶ]θ ὑ[π(ἐρ)] Μεσορῇ (ἀρτ.) β
 [Τανάεω]ς
 [Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μ]εσορῇ (ἀρτ.) γ
 215 [ἄλλ(αι)] (ἀρτ.) ιδ
 Μεχεῖρ (ἀρτ.) ι
 Πετνή
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῇ (ἀρτ.) ια
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) θ
 220 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) β (ἡμικυ)
 Θώλθεως μέσης
 Μεχεῖρ (μοναρτ.) ιε
 Ἰεμή
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῇ (ἀρτ.) κδ
 225 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ς
 Cεντώ
 Ἐπεῖφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) κ
 Μεσορῇ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεῖφ (ἀρτ.) ιε
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ς
 230 [[BCλδ]]

ργ (ἡμικυ)

211 ἴστρου 223 ἱεμη 227 παῖνι

Col. xi

- Θμοισεφῶ Τοπ(αρχίας)
 Σεφῶ
 Ἐπεῖφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) με
 235 Μεσορῇ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπε[ῖφ] (ἀρτ.) ξδ χ(οί.) η
 Παώμεως
 Ἀθὺρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαῶφι (ἀρτ.) ι
 Μεχεῖρ (ἀρτ.) λ
 Κεσμούχε[ω]ς
 240 Μεσορῇ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεῖφ (ἀρτ.) ιε
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Με[ο]ρῇ (ἀρτ.) β
 Τήεως
 Ἐπεῖφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ι
 Μεσορῇ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεῖφ (ἀρτ.) γ
 245 Μεχεῖρ (ἀρτ.) α
 c. 12 cm. blank
 ρμ[θ χ(οί.) η]

234 παῖνι

Col. xii

- κεφάλαια πρα(κτορίας)
 Cιναρὺ πόλ(εως) γενήμ(ατος) ι (ἔτους)
 διοικήσεως (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) μυ(ριάς) α Ἐκ
 250 οὐσιακῶν ὁμοίως (ἀρτ.) Ἐρνε
 (πρότερον) Ἀνθου (ἀρτ.) μεδκδμη
 επ[ερ]μάτων (ἀρτ.) μς (ἡμικυ) γ'ιβ
 πρ[ο]σ[ο]δων διοικήσεως (ἀρτ.) .[
 λ[. .] ἀναληπ() (πρότερον) Καλουίου Ἰού[στου]
 255 πρ[ο]σ[ο]δου ἰδίου λόγου (ἀρτ.) [
 φ[ο]ρ[ο]ν διοικήσεως ἐξ ἀναπ[ομ-]
 π[η]ς ἐκλ[ο]γ[ι]στοῦ (ἀρτ.) [
 οὐ[κ]ακῶν ὁμ[οί]ως [
 ἄλλ() (ἀρτ.) [

- 260 ἄλλ() ὁμοίως [μερισμοῦ ἐπι[
ἐπεὶ νομοῦ [
γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτ.) μ(υριάς) α' Ἐριγ'η'
ἄλλ() (ἀρτ.) φς
265 (ὦν) ἐν ἀμμοχώσσ(φ) (ἀρτ.) 'Αις (ἡμιν) [
λοιπ(αὶ) μ(υριάς) α' Δχδ (ἡμιν) ἱβις
c. 6 cm. blank
'Στξς' (ἡμιν)

247 l. κεφάλαια 254 καλοῦτον ἴον[255 ἰδιον 262 l. ἐπὶ

Slight remnants of a further column do not merit transcription.

Col. ii. 'Mesore, for the monthly report of Epeiph. Summary for Sinary: 200 (artabae of wheat) for monartabia; another 150 for mon., another 500 for mon., another 100 for mon., total 950 artabae. Tychinphagi, 71 for mon., Nemerae, 72 for mon., Tampemu, 100 for mon. and another 4 mon. Psobthis of the lower toparchy, 35 mon. and another 6 mon. Sepho, 64 art. 8 ch. mon. Kerkemounis . . . , 38½ art. 6 ch. mon. Kerkeura, 80 mon. Sento, 15 mon. and another 6 mon. Monimu, 40 mon. Entiis, 4 mon. Teis, 3 mon. Kesmouchis, 15 mon. Athychis, 18 art. 2 ch. mon. Sko, 15 mon. Ision Tryphonos, 100 mon., another 50 mon., another 110 mon., another 10 mon. Phobou, 39½ art. 2 ch. mon. Total from other localities, 1096 art. 8 ch. Grand total, 2,046 art. 8 ch.'

Col. iii. 'Thoth, for the monthly report of Mesore. Summary for Sinary, 250 mon., another 200 mon., another 70 mon., another 40 mon., total 560. Ophis, 80 mon., another 1 mon. Ieme, 24 mon., another 6 mon. Nomu Epoikion, 25 mon., another 4 mon. Toka, 3 mon. Ision Tryphonos . . . mon. Thmoinepsobthis . . . mon. Tampemu, 18½ mon. Entiis, 1 mon., another 2 mon. Sinkepha, 75 mon., another 7 mon. Paimis, 8 mon. Mermertha, 10½ art. 7 ch. mon. Tanais, 3 mon., another 14 mon. . . . , 5½ mon. Sko, 3 mon. Petne, 11 mon., another 9 mon. Penno, 5 mon. Sesphta, 5 mon. Istru, 2 mon. Psobthis of the Eastern toparchy, 5 mon. Nemera, 8 mon. Kesmouchis, 2 mon. Seryphis, 11 mon. Total from other localities, 440½ art. 7 ch. Total for the month, 1,000½ art. 7 ch.'

Col. iv. 'Phaophi, for the monthly report of Thoth. Summary for Sinary: 100 mon., another 50 art., another 7 art., total 157 art. Tholthis of the Lower toparchy, 24 mon., another 10 art. Pakerke of the Eastern toparchy, 20½ mon. Phobou, 23 art. 8 ch. mon. Thmoinepsobthis, 5 mon. Mermertha, 5 mon. Chysis, 1 (?) mon. Penno, 3 mon. Petne, 2½ mon. Seryphis, 10 mon. Kerkemounis, 25 mon. Sinkepha, 11 art. Athychis, 4 mon. Ision Tryphonos, 7½ mon. Total from other localities, 150½ art. 8 ch. [sic]. Total for the month, 307½ art. 8 ch.

'Pachon, 2,200 art. Payni, 3,841½ art. 7 ch. Epeiph, 2,046 art. 8 ch. Mesore, 1,000½ art. 7 ch. Year 11, Thoth, 307½ art. 8 ch. Phaophi, 109 art. Hathyr, 50 art. Choiak, 200 art.'

Col. vi. ' . . . 20 art. Sinkepha, Thoth for Mesore, 75 mon., another 7 mon. Phaophi for Thoth, 11 mon. Athychis, Epeiph for Payni, . . . art. 7 ch. mon. Mesore for Epeiph, 18 art. 2 ch. mon. Phaophi for Thoth, 4 mon. Entiis, Epeiph for Payni, 4 mon. Mesore for Epeiph, 4 art. Thoth for Mesore, 1 art., another 2 art. Mermertha, Thoth for Mesore, 10½ art. 7 ch. mon. Phaophi for Thoth, 5 mon. Hathyr for Phaophi, 4 mon. Sko, Epeiph for Payni, 5 mon. Mesore for Epeiph, 15 mon. Thoth for Mesore, 3 mon. Monimu, Mesore for Epeiph, 40 art. Kerkemounis, Mesore for Epeiph, 38½ art. 6 ch. Phaophi for Thoth, 25 art.

'Western toparchy. Seryphis, Thoth for Mesore, 11 mon. Phaophi for Thoth, 10 mon. Syron kome, Choiak for Hathyr, 8 art. (Total for the column) 207½ art.'

Col. viii. 'Paimis, Thoth for Mesore, 8 art.

'Eastern toparchy. Pakerke of the Eastern toparchy, Phaophi for Thoth, 20½ art. Tampemu, Epeiph for Payni, 50 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 100 art., another 4 art. Thoth for Mesore, 18½ art.

Ophis, Thoth for Mesore, 80 art., another 1 art. Mecheir, . . . mon., another . . . mon., another . . . mon. Phobou, Mesore for Epeiph, 39½ art. 2 ch. Phaophi for Thoth, 23 art. 8 ch. Choiak for Hathyr, 10 art. Psobthis, Thoth for Mesore, 5 art. Hathyr for Phaophi, 7 art. Phthokis, Epeiph for Payni, 8 art. (Total for the column) 308½ art.'

Col. ix. 'Thmoinepsobthis, Epeiph for Payni . . . Mesore for Epeiph, 200 art. Thoth for Mesore . . . Phaophi for Thoth, 5 art. Choiak for Hathyr . . . Mecheir . . . , another

'Middle toparchy. Nomu Epoikion, Thoth for Mesore, 25 art., another 4 art. Kerkeura, Mesore for Epeiph, 80 art. Hathyr for Phaophi, 2 art. Nemerae, Epeiph for Payni, 7 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 72 art. Thoth for Mesore, 8 art. 1,712½. (Total for the column) .88. . . '

Col. x. 'Toka, Thoth for Mesore, 3 art. Penno, Thoth for Mesore, 5 art. Phaophi for Thoth, 3 art. Istru, Thoth for Mesore, 2 art. Tanais, Thoth for Mesore, 3 art., another 14 art. Mecheir, 10 art. Petne, Thoth for Mesore, 11 art., another 9 art. Phaophi for Thoth, 2½ art. Tholthis of the Middle toparchy, Mecheir, 15 mon. Ieme, Thoth for Mesore, 24 art., another 6 art. Sento, Epeiph for Payni, 20 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 15 art., another 6 art. (Total for the column) 123½.'

Col. xi. 'Thmoisepho toparchy. Sepho, Epeiph for Payni, 45 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 64 art. 8 ch. Paomis, Hathyr for Phaophi, 10 art. Mecheir, 30 art. Kesmouchis, Mesore for Epeiph, 15 art. Thoth for Mesore, 2 art. Teis, Epeiph for Payni, 10 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 3 art. Mecheir, 1 art. (Total for the column) 149 art. 8 ch.'

Col. xii. 'Summary of grain to be collected for Sinary, metropolitan account, wheat crop of year 10. For the fiscus, 12,020 art. wheat. For the patrimonium likewise, 2,155 art. From properties formerly belonging to Anthus, 451½ art. For seed, 461½ art. From revenue lands under administration by the fiscus, . . . art. For . . . formerly belonging to Salvius Justus . . . From revenue lands under administration by the idius logus . . . art. Land under administration of the fiscus which by command sent up by the *eclogistes* has been assigned a cash rental (?) . . . art. For the patrimonium likewise . . . another . . . art. likewise another . . . art. For the assignment of . . . in the nome . . . Total, 15,110½ art., and another 506 art. Deduct 1,016½ art. for land heavily sanded over, remainder 14,604½ art. [sic]. 6,366½.'

1-20 The recto of this column was for convenience labelled 3169 col. vii, but as it does not physically join the rest of the papyrus its actual position is rather conjectural. If it really is rightly placed here, it represents the account for Payni: it includes all the villages known from lines 126 ff. to have appeared in the list for Payni, and includes no village definitely known not to have appeared there.

2 ἄλλ(αι): the reason for keeping the subtotals as separate entries is obscure.

11 Ταμπ[έμον]: more likely than Ταμπ[ερί], which does not elsewhere occur in this account. More commonly spelled Ταμπέμον, but cf. ll. 30 and 164; 102 note.

16 After Ψώβ[θ]εως is expected the name of a toparchy. If, as suggested in ll. 1-20 note, this is the payment for Payni, the restoration is κάτω, since Ψώβ[θ]ις ἀπηλώτου does not have an entry for Payni in ll. 179 ff.

19 ἀ[π'] ἄλλων τόπων: for the restoration cf. l. 52 with note.

20 Restore ἐ[πὶ τὸ αὐτό] (l. 53) or τ[ὸ] μὴνός (89, 110).

23 συνερέμ(ατος): cf. B.G.U. VII 1626, 2 note.

24 (μοναρταβίας): Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 13, 15, 362 n. 25; P. Ryl. II 202, 3 n.; XII 1434, 23 n. One artaba 'was the normal rate of land-tax upon an arura of catocic, cleruchic, or ordinary private land' - XII 1459, 11 n.

35 ἐξ ἀντιπ[...]: this obscure phrase does not recur in l. 149. In the absence of parallels neither Ἀντιπ[ερα] Πέλα (as suggested by Parsons) nor e.g. Ἀντιπ[άτρο]ν sc. κλήρου (Rea) is convincing.

52 ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων: the counterpart to ὑπὲρ ἄλλων κομῶν used to designate grain physically paid into one granary but destined for giro-transfer to another (P. Berl. Leihg. 1 recto 11, 4 note). This phrase presumably indicates grain booked to the tax-credit of Sinary from granaries at other localities where the actual delivery in kind had been made. The expression seems not to have occurred in a comparable context before.

On the technical meaning of τόποι, cf. R. Boehm, *Hermes* 81 (1953), esp. 473 ff.

The arithmetic is correct.

- 64 [δ]: cf. l. 196.
 68 Cf. l. 168.
 71 ο[ε]: cf. l. 128.
 74 [d]: cf. l. 141.
 77 Probably [Χύ]εως; cf. l. 101.
 89 [Ad χ(οί.)] ζ: restored from l. 114.
 102 Περνῶ (μον[αρτ.] γ): not Περνῶ; cf. 81, 208. Similarly this account uses Ταμπέμου rather than the more common Τααμπέμου. For the restoration of the figure, cf. l. 210.
 103 β (ἡμισυ): cf. l. 220.
 104 ι]: cf. l. 155, where despite the dot the reading is assured by the total for the column.
 105 κε]: cf. l. 151 and preceding note.
 109 (ἀρτ.) ρν (ἡμισυ) χ(οί.) η: this is one artaba short of the true total, if the readings for the individual entries are correct. Since these are all assured except l. 101, where the only alternative to α is κ, and 108, where only δ could perhaps be read for ζ, the scribe must be in error.
 115 ια (ἔτους): see first paragraph of introduction.
 127 ff. Cf. 75 f. and 106.
 131 ff. The entries in ll. 133 and 134 are clearly for Athychis; cf. 44 and 107. As there is no room in col. vii for a line above 133, 'Αθύχεως has to be restored in the preceding column. In that column] χ(οί.) ζ is wrongly placed to be a total for the column, so it must represent a payment for Athychis earlier than Epeiph; and in this account that can only be Payni.
 135 [Εντί]εως: cf. 41 and 69 f.
 154 ι]α: cf. 87.
 158 C[θ]ζ (ἡμισυ) dη': there is a tear after C large enough to have taken away one numeral, but apparently it did not do so, since the total as it now stands is correct.
 176 'Επειφ (ἀρτ.) λθ (ἡμισυ) χ(οί.) β]: cf. l. 50.
 177 η]: cf. 98.
 184 τσηδ: the correct total is 374½ art. It is not possible to read the α's of the (μοναρτ.) symbols in ll. 173 and 174 as numerals and to restore α (ἡμισυ) in line 172; for while this would produce the 3½ artabae needed to make τσηδ correct, col. x shows that the column totals were calculated before the figures for Mecheir were added.
 185 ff. The number of lines restored exactly fills the space available, and Thmoinepsobthis is the only eastern toparchy village found in cols. i-v which is otherwise lacking from this list.
 205 'Αψμβ (ἡμισυ): it is not clear what this number refers to.
 213 [Τανέω]ς: cf. ll. 75 ff.
 230 [Βελδ]: cf. 205 note.
 231 ρκγ (ἡμισυ): correct, discounting the entries for Mecheir.
 246 ρμ[θ χ(οί.) η]: restored, disregarding the entries for Mecheir.
 248 πόλ(εως): cf. 3181, 5 note.
 ι (ἔτους): cf. 115 note.
 251 (πρότερον) 'Ανθου: an ousia belonging to one Anthus is well known in the Fayum (references in Rostovtzeff, *Soc. & Ec. Hist. Rome* II, p. 672 no. 31; Parsons, *Chr. d'Ég.* 44 (1969) 315). This is its first attestation for the Oxyrhynchite Nome.
 252 επ[ερ]μάτων: i.e. loans of seed which had been issued by the state, and responsibility for the collection of which fell to the granary officials.
 253 πρ[ο]σόδων: cf. P. Petaus 44. 57 note. The figure at the end of the line was ι or ρ.
 254 λ[.] ἀναληπ(): the dotted letters are damaged but reasonably secure. The last six letters must represent some form or cognate of ἀναλαμβάνω in the sense of 'confiscate': least violent palaeographically would be ἀναληπ(τῶν), for which cf. P.S.I. I 104. 14 (Mendesian Nome). Then the initial word must be an abbreviation, most plausibly λ[ημ]μάτων]; cf. perhaps I 57. 11 ἀνειληφέναι ἐν λήμμασι διοικήσεως.
 (πρότερον) Καλονίου 'Ιού[στου]: a tender to purchase from the state land near Pela which had formerly belonged to Marcus Salvius Justus is soon to be published, and no doubt refers to the same man. Perhaps to be identified with the Salvius Justus *antarchiereus* known from XLI 3026 i 18-19.
 256 f. φ[ό]ρ[ο]ν διοικήσεως ἐξ ἀναπ[ομ]π[η]ς ἐκλ[ο]γ[ι]στοῦ: this category of land does not occur

elsewhere, but despite the loss of a few letters the reading seems inevitable. It seems natural to understand φόρου γῆ as the counterpart to γῆ ἐν ἐκφορίαις; i.e., land on which rental was to be collected in money rather than in kind: cf. the Ptolemaic γῆ πρὸς χαλκὸν διοικουμένη. If this is so, the artaba sign at the end of the line introduces the old rental in kind, which would still have to be accounted for in official reports.

That the ἐκλογιστής was able to alter the tax status of parcels of land is not directly attested elsewhere, but fits well with the known duties of this official; see the bibliography in P. Petaus p. 138 n. 1.

258 ὁμ[οί]ως: a considerable space was left blank between ο and μ, perhaps to avoid a flaw in the papyrus.

261 ἐπι]: in this text most probably ἐπι[κλασμών], a charge which is prominent in the recto account; cf. 3169, 12 note. For other possibilities see the index to Wallace's *Taxation*.

263 μ(υριάς): the μ has degenerated to a simple stroke under α; similarly in l. 266.

265 ἀμμοχώσ(ω): spelled ἀμμόχωστος in V.B.P. 90, 27 and B.G.U. I 108, 1 (W. Chr. 227); other words in which a spelling in cc varies with one in cr are listed in P. Petaus p. 89. This is the first attestation of the term applied to land outside the Fayum; its presence in Sinary perhaps indicates that the latter was located near the desert.

(ἀρτ.): artabae and not arurae because the sitologi were concerned with the dues on the land, not with its area. Since this grain formed part of the total tax assessment, the reason for failure to collect it had to be stated; cf. perhaps 256 f. note.

266 μ(υριάς) α 'Αχδ (ἡμισυ) ιβ[ις]: this figure represents the remainder after line 265 is deducted from the total of lines 263-4 ($15,110\frac{1}{2} + 506 = 15,616\frac{1}{2}$). But no possible reading of l. 265 will permit the arithmetic to stand uncorrected; most attractive is to restore in l. 265 'Αις (ἡμισυ) [dis] (i.e. $1,016\frac{1}{8}$). This would account for the fractions in l. 266 and make the error exactly five, $14,604\frac{3}{8}$ against a correct $14,599\frac{3}{8}$.

267 'ςτξς (ἡμισυ): it is not clear what this figure refers to.

3171.¹ SUBSCRIPTIONS TO A DECREE (?)

22 3B. 15/D (7-8)b

19.5 × 14.5 cm.

C. A.D. 214-50

A darkish brown sheet of papyrus, intact at all margins except the top and containing a list of signatures of buleutae, each written in a different hand and followed by the word ἔδοξε. On palaeographical grounds the document appears to belong to the first half of the third century, and this dating is confirmed by the identification of one of the signatories with a man attested in I 70, of 212-13 (see l. 5, note). The back of the papyrus is blank.

The titles of the signatories lead to the conclusion that this document is to be connected with the bule of Oxyrhynchus, but the loss of the top of the papyrus (including whatever prescript there may have been) leaves its purpose open to conjecture. It seems likely to have been an official record of the members of the bule who supported a ψήφισμα, but it is impossible to say whether a counterpart – a list of signatories with the words οὐκ ἔδοξε – will have been made. The normal procedure in the later third century seems to have been for the bule to discuss any issue until agreement was reached or until stalemate resulted in the discussion being postponed or the matter being referred to another official.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 1 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

(see *The Town Councils*, pp. 37–8). But even in the event of a unanimous resolution some kind of official record such as this would probably be desirable.

Three of the signatories in this document (ll. 6, 9, 19) do not have any other titles apart from that of *buleutes*. If we accept that titles are unlikely to be omitted in a document of this nature, three out of the seventeen *buleutae* whose names are in a good state of preservation had not held any of the major municipal offices.¹ This statistic is of some interest in view of the calculation of Wegener ('The Bouleutai of the Metropoleis', *Symbolae Van Oven*, p. 164) that one-third of the *buleutae* in the third century had not held any of the *ἀρχαί*. The proportion of slightly more than one-sixth yielded by 3171 is likely to be more accurate; the high proportion of one-third, yielded by collection of *buleutae* from various documents, can probably be explained by the fact that the titles were not infrequently omitted (cf. *The Town Councils*, pp. 29–30).

The names themselves, with two exceptions, are unremarkable. *Νικόβουλος* (l. 13) is not very common, *Ῥοδιγνός* (l. 18) unattested elsewhere. The use of the *praenomen* Marcus in these two cases alone suggests that these were probably men who had received their citizenship before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and wished to display this distinction. The titles are also unremarkable, but it is noteworthy that a high proportion of these *buleutae* had been or were *agoranomi* (cf. *SB V* 7696.74); except in l. 5 (see note) it is impossible to tell whether the offices are current or previous ones since all the titles are abbreviated and either resolution would satisfy the requirements of the normal order. All the names except for two are in the nominative; the exceptions satisfy the grammatical requirements of ἔδοξε by employing the dative.

- (m. 1) ἔδ[ο]ξε.
 (m. 2) [.]. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 3) Ἀνρήλιος Ἡρα[c. 12] βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 4) Ἀνρήλιος Ἀπολλω[.]. () βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 5 (m. 5) Ἀνρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Ἡ[ρ]ακλείδης ἀγορανομ(ήσας) βουλευτής.
 ἔδοξε.
 (m. 6) Ἀνρήλιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ὁ καὶ Θέων βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 7) Ἀνρήλιος Ἀπολλωνιανὸς ἀγορ(ανομ) βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 8) Ἀνρήλιος Σεργήνος κοσμητ() βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 9) Ἀνρήλιος Διονύσιος βουλευτής. ἔδοξε.
 10 (m. 10) Ἀνρήλιος Ἀπίων Διογ(ένους) γυμνασιάρχ() βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 11) Ἀνρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἀγορ(ανομ) βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 12) Ἀνρήλιος Δίδυμος ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.

¹ That is, beginning the count at l. 4. I omit l. 3 because there could have been an *alias* or another title in the lacuna.

- (m. 13) Μάρκος Ἀνρήλιος Λεωνίδης ὁ καὶ Νικόβ(ουλος) ἀγορανομ()
 βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 14) Ἀ[π]ολλώνιος ἐξηγ(ητ) βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 15 (m. 15) Ἀ[ν]ρήλιος Νεικίας ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής).
 ἔδοξε.
 (m. 16) Ἀ[ν]ρ[η]λίω Σεραπίωνι ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτή) ἔδοξε.
 (m. 17) Ἀνρήλιος Θέων ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 18) Μ[α]ρκος Ἀνρήλιος Ῥοδιγνός καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζω) βουλ(ευτής).
 ἔδο[ξε].
 (m. 19) Ἀνρηλίω Ὀρείωνι βουλ(ευτή) ἔδοξε.
 20 (m. 20) Ἀνρήλιος Πλούταρχος ἀγορ(ανομ) βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 19 l. Ὀρίωνι

(3 ff.) . . . Aurelius Hera . . . councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollo . . . (ex-?) . . . councillor: resolved. Aurelius Ptolemaeus also called Heraclides, ex-agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Agathodaemon also called Theon, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollonius, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Serenus, (ex-?) cosmetes, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Dionysius, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apion son of Diogenes, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollonius, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Didymus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Marcus Aurelius Leonides also called Nicobulus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Apollonius, (ex-?) exegetes, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Nicias also called Dionysius, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. I, Aurelius Sarapion, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor, resolved. Aurelius Theon, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Marcus Aurelius Rhodienus and however I am styled, councillor: resolved. I, Aurelius Horion, councillor, resolved. Aurelius Plutarchus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved.

1 Only the bottom loop of the xi can be readily identified.

2 Traces of five letters; presumably the end of Aurelius and the beginning of the following name.

5 For another attestation of the same man see I 70, 2–3: Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου ἀγορανομήσαντος βουλευτοῦ (A.D. 212–13, see *BL* I, 314). Hence the office of agoranomus may safely be assumed to be a previous one, for 3171 was written after the use of the *nomen* Aurelius became current (i.e. after 214, see Millar, *JEA* 48 (1962) 128–9). The identification also makes it certain that 3171 is to be connected with the *bule* of Oxyrhynchus, since Ptolemaeus–Heraclides is stated in 70 to be a *buleutes* of Oxyrhynchus.

11 P.S.I. I 74, of the third century, attests an Ἀ[ν]ρ[η]λίος Ἀπολλώνιος ἀ[γ]ορανομήσας βουλευτής, who could well be the same man; but the name is very common.

14 The *nomen* Aurelius was probably omitted here. If it was included in an abbreviated form the signature will have commenced some way to the left of the others.

18 I cannot parallel the name Ῥοδιγνός, but the reading seems beyond doubt; presumably a variant of Ῥόδινος (e.g. I.L.S. 1523).

20 A *buleutes* named Aurelius Plutarchus is attested in P.Osl. III 111. 9, 11 of A.D. 235.

3172. RECEIPT FOR POLL TAX

36 4B. 94/F(a)

9.5 × 5.5 cm.

16 July A.D. 219

Receipt for 12 drachmas paid for poll tax. Since the receipt was issued by the collector of metropolitan taxes at Oxyrhynchus, this amount is to be understood as full payment of a year's dues at the privileged rate on *μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι* rather than as an instalment toward the higher rate (probably 16 drachmas, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 126-7). This is the only Oxyrhynchite *λαογραφία* receipt yet published which post-dates the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, though the composite receipt XLIII 3107 includes payment for this tax. See Wallace, p. 134.¹

→ ἔτους δευτέρου Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Ἐπειφ κβ. διαγέγρα(φεν) [Αὐρηλίου]
 Ἑρμείω πράκ(τορι) μητροπ(όλεως) λαογρα(φίας) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτου[ς]
 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἑρακλείδ(ης) Χαιρήμονος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἀμμου
 5 Ταχώνσιο(ς) δραχμ(ὰς) δώδεκα, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) β.

¹ Year two of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 22. Aurelius Heracleides, son of Chaeremon also called NN and Tachonsis, has paid to Aurelius Herminius, collector of metropolitan taxes, for poll tax of the same year, twelve drachmae, total 12 dr.

4 At the end of the line will have stood an abbreviation or symbol for *μηρός*.

3173. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT²

23 3B. 11/D(16)b

12.5 × 14.5 cm.

July/August A.D. 222

Part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* containing one document complete except at the foot and the remains of another to the left. The preserved text contains a request for payment from two *μισθωταὶ βαλανείου* addressed to the prytane of Oxyrhynchus; the contractors ask that the treasurer of the city fund be ordered to make the payment. For contractors (who are not liturgists) in connexion with the baths of Oxyrhynchus see XXXI 2569 (cf. N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 109); supervision of such officials and their expenditures by the *bule* in the third century is discussed in full in *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 87-9. This text (to which 3176 offers an almost exact parallel) is of particular interest in that it provides a date for the term of office of the prytane Lucius Calpurnius

¹ The editor would like to escape this conclusion by interpreting the date as year 2 of Marcus Aurelius. The original can be assigned palaeographically to either date. But Bureth's list indicates that the titles of Verus would have appeared in a date of 2 Marcus and Verus. PSI V 457 is misleading as a parallel: it dates from the late third century, and the date in line 12 is actually restored after Μάρκου [; θεοῦ (or θεῶν) is also to be expected in it.

² Described as P. Oxy. ined. 14 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

Gaius who is already known from XXXIV 2723 (see 1 n.). The back of the papyrus is blank.

→ (m. 1) Γαίω Καλπουρνίω Λοῦ[κ]ίῳ [καὶ ὦ]ς [χρημα(τίζει)] γυμνα-
 εἰάρχῳ ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει τῆς [Ὁξ(υρνηχιδῶν) πό]λ(εως)
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Τυράννου Π[τ]ολ[ε]μαίου
 μητρὸς Ταυείριος καὶ Ἀπει[ι]τος
 5 Πτολλίωνος μητρὸς Ἑρμ[ι]όνης
 ἀμφοτέρων μισθωτῶν βαλανείου
 πρότερον Ἀρρίῳ Ἀπολιναρίου νυνεὶ
 δὲ τῆς πό[λ]εως. αὐ[τ]οῦ[μ]εθα ἐπισταλῆναι
 ἐκ τοῦ τῆς πό[λ]εως λόγου ὑπὲρ μισθῶν
 10 ἧς ποιο[ύ]μεθα ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ ὄντος
 μηρὸς Μ[ε]σο[ρ]ῆ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας
 καὶ [ἀξιοῦμεν] ἐπιστεῖλαι σε τῷ ταμίᾳ τῶν
 πολιτικ[ῶν] χρημάτων ἐξοδιασ(μ)όν
 ἡμῶν ποι[ή]σαι τῶν προκειμένων
 15 δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων. (ἔτους) α
 Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σα[ρ]ος Μ[άρ]κου Αὐρηλίου
 Σεουήρου [Ἀλεξάνδ]ρ[ο]υ Εὐσε[β]οῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ, Μεσορῆ . . . (m. 2) [Α]ὐρηλι[ο]ς [Τ]ύραννος
 Πτολεμαίου αὐτοῦ[μ]αι τὰς δρα[χμ]ὰς
 20 [πεντακοσίας ὡς πρόκειται.]

2 πο^λ 7 l. νυνί

¹ To Gaius Calpurnius Lucius and however he is styled, gymnasiarch prytane-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the Aurelii Tyrannus son of Ptolemaeus whose mother is Tausiris and Apeis son of Ptolliion whose mother is Hermione, both contractors of the bath formerly belonging to Arrius Apolinarius but now belonging to the city. We ask to have remitted from the city account on behalf of wages for the service which we are performing in the present month of Mesore five hundred drachmas and we request that you order the treasurer of the city funds to make the payment to us of the abovementioned five hundred drachmas. Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Mesore. . . (m. 2) I, Aurelius Tyrannus son of Ptolemaeus, request the five hundred drachmas as mentioned above.

¹ In the third name only the lambda is certain. I have restored the name on the basis of XXXIV 2723. 1 and assumed this to be the same man with a reversal of names. Since he is also prytane-in-office in 2723, that document is very likely to date to 222 (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61-5, 131); this supposition gains additional support from XXXVIII 2848 which mentions a Calpurnius Firmus in A.D. 225. On the other hand, it is remotely possible that the third name in 2723 is to be taken as a patronymic and that the third name here is to be read as a genitive (patronymic). Combining the evidence of the two documents we would then have four generations: Lucius

(Calpurnius), father of the prytane of 3173; Gaius Calpurnius son of Lucius, the prytane of 3173; Lucius Calpurnius son of Gaius, the prytane of 2723 and son of the prytane of 3173; his son, Lucius Calpurnius Firmus (2723). Altogether, this seems uneconomical and the generations are rather crowded if we assume, as we would have to do, that the same family provided two prytanes between 214 (the *terminus post* for the date of 2723 being the *Constitutio Antoniniana*) and 222, given that the father is likely to have preceded the son in office. On the assumption that the two presidents are one and the same man, the restoration of [καὶ ὧς [χρημα(τί)σει]] here will stand in place of the Alexandrian titles in 2723. 1.

4 The name of the second contractor is difficult to read here, but is much clearer in 3176.

7 For a private bath becoming public property cf. B.G.U. IV 1130. 9-10: βαλανεῖον δημόσιον [πρότερον Διογ]ένους τοῦ Ἰειδώρου.

10 Compare XXXI 2569 where the contractor for the drawing of water for the baths refers to his service as an ὑπηρέσια.

12-13 For the treasurer of city funds see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 44-6.

18-20 The restoration is on analogy with C.P.Herm. 66-7. A singular subscription has been preferred because the traces of the last three letters of the verb suit αἰτοῦμαι much better than αἰτούμεθα. On the other hand it would be possible to read two names with ἀξιώ: Α]ὐρήλιος[ι Τ]ύραννος[ε καὶ Ἀπείας ἀξιοῦ]μεν τὰς δραχμὰς κτλ.].

3174. TAXATION REPORT

20 3B. 31/E (1-5)c

5.5 × 15 cm.

A.D. 229/30

On the front we have a routine monthly summary report of tax collected sent to the strategus by a πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν. For a list of parallels see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 484 n. 230.

The back is not routine. The first line is obviously meant to be an iambic trimeter containing a *gnome*, but it is corrupt as it stands; there is a similar occurrence on the back of VI 966 (likewise corrupt) and in SB VI 9254. 13 f. (I owe these references to Dr D. Hagedorn). The second line is a dating formula with, apparently, a reference to *dies Mercurii*. The remainder of the space is filled with two pen and ink drawings. The script of the back is thin and straggling, with narrow letter forms; sigma is an upright with shallow curves at top and foot, upsilon is composed of a spiral like the drachma-sign with a short diagonal stroke at the left, and the cursive beta in l. 17 contrasts sharply with the general character of the script.

- Αὐρηλ(ίω) Λεωνίδη
στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Κορνη-
λίου Στεφάνου πρά(κτορος)
5 ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἰβιῶνος Χύς(εως)
κω(μητικῶν) λημμάτ(ων). διαστολ(ή)
ἀριθ(μήσεως) μην(ός) Χοίακ
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος θ (ἔτους)

3174. TAXATION REPORT

- Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
10 Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου[υ
Καίς[αρο]ς τοῦ κυρίου.
ἔστι δέ·
λημμάτ(ων) τοῦ
διελθ(όντος) η (ἔτους)
15 ἀπομορί(ρας) (δραχμαὶ) φ.

Back → (m. 2) Ἔθος ἐστὶν μν[.]ιους εὐτυχεῖν τοὺς πλουσίους.
(ἔτους) ε Φαμενώθ ιβ̄ ή̄. ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ.

‘To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Cornelius son of Stephanus, collector of the money taxes of the village revenues for Ibion Chysis. Classified list of the reckoning for the month Choiak of the current 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord. As follows: of the revenues from the *apomoira* tax for the past 8th year 500 dr.’

1 Αὐρηλ(ίω) Λεωνίδη: a well-known and long-serving strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, in office at least from September 229 (XXVII 2473) until some time in 236/7 (XII 1405, P.S.I. X 1121); cf. Mertens, *Chr. d'Ég.* 31 (1956) 352-5. Two other taxation reports addressed to him by πράκτορες (in this case στεφανικῶν) are to be found in P.S.I. VII 733.

5 Ἰβιῶνος Χύς(εως): also found at XII 1442. 2, XIV 1637. 27, 1724. 13 and XXXIV 2712. 7. From the present papyrus we see that Grenfell and Hunt's doubts (1637. 27 n.) whether the village was Oxyrhynchite were unfounded.

6 κω(μητικῶν) λημμάτ(ων): analogy, e.g. with XII 1405. 20 ff., εἰς πρακτορεῖαν ἀργυρικῶν κωμ[η]-τικῶν λημμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς Κυκέφα, suggests that this goes with what precedes rather than with what follows.

διαστολ(ή): regularly used of summary reports; on its meaning see Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg. 1 recto, col. ii. 18 n., and Youtie, *TAPA* 95 (1964) 313 n. 43.

7 Χοίακ: 27 November-26 December 229.

15 ἀπομορί(ρας): the reading is not above suspicion palaeographically, but from parallel documents it is certain that what we have here is the name of a tax, and the only possibility would seem to be the *apomoira*. We know that this tax was collected in money at this date (Wallace, *op. cit.* 53-6) and it is mentioned in the tax returns P. Fay. 41 (A.D. 186) and VII 1046 (A.D. 218/19).

Below this line there is a blank space of 2.5 cm. The report may therefore be complete. No further taxes were recorded.

16 I have not found this saying elsewhere. After ἐστὶν the next letter is either mu or eta, followed by nu; between this and ιους there is a blot, which may obscure two letters or there may have been nothing written here. μνός does exist (= ἀπαλός), but the word would be out of place among the other very ordinary words and would hardly give point to the line. No doubt μν[.]ιους is corrupt. If one of the drawings is meant to represent Midas (see below) it is possible that the writer was aiming at ἡμόνους (suggested by Turner), but if so the corruption must extend beyond this one word.

17 ή̄. ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ: in several customs accounts of the Roman period (P. Lond. III 964 (p. 211), 1169 (p. 43), SB IV 7365, P. Osl. III 121; cf. B.G.U. III 812, P. Leit. 14) the entry on certain days reads simply Ἑρμῆς, and this is to be explained as a day on which no business was done (there were no receipts), see Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.* 11 (1935) 137, Clauson, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 273 ff. But in these instances Ἑρμῆς is always nominative and is never accompanied by ἡμέρα, therefore I do not believe they can be a parallel for what we have here. Nor is the reference likely to be a festival day of Hermes, since 12 Phamenoth is not known to have been one.

The true explanation, I suggest, is that *ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ* = *dies Mercurii*. In fact Youtie has calculated, using the tables in V. Grumel, *Chronologie*. . . , 316, that if the sixth year be referred to Gordian, 12 Phamenoth was indeed a Wednesday. The date given is therefore 8 March 243, which suits well enough with the date of the front.

If this be accepted, the papyrus adds to our scanty knowledge of reckoning by the planetary week in Egypt. In P.S.I. VII 843 we meet the expression *ἄχρις τῆς Ἑρμοῦ* 'until the day of Hermes', but this is a Christian letter of late Byzantine date. Much more relevant to the present case, indeed a close parallel, is a text I know only from its quotation by Schürer, *Zeitschr. f. NT Wissensch.* vi (1905) 23-4: it is a wooden tablet on which is written *Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος Ἀνουβίωνος ἔγραψα τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν Ἡλίου*, followed by the names of the consuls for the year A.D. 294, and then by a note on the Iliad copied out several times; at the foot stands *μηρὸς Φαρμουθι(?) ἡμέρα Ἡλίου*. Cf. also XLII 3026 i 7 note.

The classic study on the use of planetary names for the days of the week is the article by Schürer just cited (pp. 1-66, esp. 13-39); cf. also F. H. Colson, *The Week* (1926), chap. 3; Gundel, *RE* xx (1950) 2143-7; and Bickerman, *Chronology* (1968) 58-61. Dio xxxvii 18 states *τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πλάνητας ὠνομαζμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακείσθαι κατέστη μὲν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάσαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον*. Whether the origin of the planetary week is to be sought in Egypt seems doubtful, though it is possible that it emerged in Hellenistic Alexandria (cf. Gundel, *loc. cit.*). Dio is likely to be right in asserting that it is of comparatively recent origin, at any rate in a Graeco-Roman milieu. The earliest example would appear to be Tibullus i. 3. 18 and there is evidence also that it was known at Pompeii. Colson, *op. cit.* 18, concludes that 'by the beginning of the third century A.D. the habit of measuring time in cycles of seven days, each of them dedicated to one of the seven planets, had become universal or at least general in private life throughout the Roman empire, though it had not received official recognition'.

The text quoted by Schürer is undoubtedly the work of a schoolboy and the same may well be true of 3174. If so it is an interesting piece of evidence for the learning of planetary names in school. On this question see Colson, *op. cit.* 24, with reference in particular to Dositheus (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, ed. Goetz, III, p. 58).

Below this line are two drawings. The first is a rectangle crossed by two diagonal strokes from NW to SE, and with five uprights in the resulting triangles; in the SW corner are two circles. A town-plan? (Youtie), or an abacus? The second is a face, with large ears and perhaps a protruding tongue. Midas? (Parsons).

3175. RECEIPT FOR ENTRANCE-FEES¹

26 3B. 52/J (1-3)a

20 x 18 cm.

11 (?) January-March A.D. 233

A piece of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* containing one document in its entirety and to the left the ends of five lines of another document; the join, it is noticeable, has been made by placing the right-hand piece over the left-hand one. The preserved document is written along the fibres and is complete at all margins. Two narrow vertical strips have been lost, extending from midway down the papyrus to the bottom, and there has been some abrasion of the ends of lines. The back of the papyrus is blank.

The preserved document contains two receipts for payment of interest on *εἰσιτήρια* to the *bule* of Oxyrhynchus; the treasurer of the *buleutic* fund acknowledges to the heirs of a deceased *buleutes* payments of 100 and 200 drachmas.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 12 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv. In editing this text I have had the benefit of a preliminary transcript by P. J. Parsons.

The word *εἰσιτήριον* originally meant a sacrifice made upon taking office. Demosthenes refers to sacrifices made by and on behalf of the *bule* in Athens (19. 190, 21. 114) and Cassius Dio uses the same term in connexion with the Roman senate (45. 17). The same rituals were observed in regard to individual offices, e.g. Heliodorus 7. 2: *ἐπὶ τὴν προφητείαν κληθέντος καὶ τὰς εἰσιτηρίους θυσίας πανδημεὶ τελοῦντος* and a priestess *πεπληρωκυῖα τὴν ὑδροφορίαν εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως ποιήσασα τὸ εἰσιτήριον πᾶσιν ἀπαρτηρήτως* (T. Wiegand, *Didyma* II, 314. 10). The word is used elsewhere in papyri only once. In P. Ryl. II 77. 35-6 it is stated that if Achilles wishes to be crowned as *exegetes* *εἰσενεγκάτω τὸ εἰσιτήριον ἐντεῦθεν*, and Achilles replies that he has accepted an *exegeteia* on condition of contributing (*εἰσφέρειν*) two talents per year. As the editors remarked in a note, this does not seem to be a formal entrance-fee for the office, but rather the contribution promised for the year's service; this must be distinguished from the *στεπτικόν* or crown-payment exacted for the privilege of wearing the crown of office (see 3177). In the present text, however, it is clear that the *εἰσιτήρια* constitute the entrance-fee to the *bule* of Oxyrhynchus paid by members on election.

The practice of exacting such a fee for entry to the local councils in the provinces is known from other sources. The evidence has been collected and discussed by P. D. A. Garnsey.¹ The most explicit evidence for it in the Roman provinces is provided by Pliny the Younger in two letters to Trajan. In *Ep.* 10. 39. 5 he refers to new baths being built at *Claudopolis* '*et quidem ex ea pecunia, quam buleutae additi beneficio tuo aut iam obtulerunt ob introitum aut nobis exigentibus conferent*'. It appears, therefore, that in the early second century it was the custom for *buleutae* additionally enrolled by imperial favour to pay an entrance-fee. Pliny is more explicit in *Ep.* 10. 112. 1, mentioning the provisions of the *lex Pompeia* on this matter: '*eos qui in bulen a censoribus leguntur, dare pecuniam non iubet: sed ii, quos indulgentia tua quibusdam civitatibus super legitimum numerum adicere permisit, et singula milia denariorum et bina intulerunt. Anicius deinde Maximus proconsul eos etiam, qui a censoribus legerentur, dumtaxat in paucissimis civitatibus aliud aliis iussit inferre. Superest ergo, ut ipse dispicias, an in omnibus civitatibus certum aliquid omnes, qui deinde buleutae leguntur, debeant pro introitu dare*'. Trajan's reply (of which the last statement is a notorious textual problem)² advocates preserving the *status quo* ('*sequendam cuiusque civitatis legem puto*'), an excellent example of legal provision being subject to gradual *de facto* change. A letter from Hadrian to the *bule* of Ephesus provides an example of the supernumerary entries mentioned by Pliny. The Emperor, recommending a certain Lucius Erastus for membership, writes: *[εὐ]χετα[ι] δὲ βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι καὶ γὰρ τ[ὴν] μὲν [δοκι]μασία[ν] ἐφ' ἡμῶν ποιούμε[ι]· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν [έστιν αὐτῷ] ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τιμῆς ἄξι[ος], τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον διδῶσιν οἱ βουλευόντες [δώσω τῆς ἀρχαι]ρεσίας [έ]νεκα.³* In a letter of A.D. 158 to the inhabitants of a Macedonian city, the Emperor Antoninus wrote: *[β]ουλευνται ὀγδοήκοντα ἡμῶν ἔστωσαν, διδόντω δὲ ἕκαστος πεντακοσίας Ἀττικὰς, ἵνα ἀπὸ*

¹ 'Honorarium Decurionatus', *Historia* 20 (1971) 309-25.

² See Jones, *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 138-9; Vidman, *Listy Filologické* 92 (1969) 236-8.

³ *SIG*³ 838 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 85.

μὲν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ὑμεῖν προσγένηται, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ δώσουσιν, πρόσδοτος.¹ Although it is difficult to be sure whether or not this is an extraordinary imposition, it is clear that all the members of the *bule* would pay it; and in the course of the second century the practice of exacting entrance-fees from all *buleutae* became normal.

It might, therefore, reasonably have been surmised that entrants into the *bulae* of the metropoleis in Egypt (established by the reforms of Septimius Severus at the beginning of the third century) were required to pay an entrance-fee. This papyrus attests the fact, and a good many details can now be added. The new evidence is of particular value as being the only detailed attestation of payment of such an entrance-fee to the *bule*; such an exaction will have been made in all the cities of the Empire which possessed *bulae* and there is no reason to think that the practice in Egypt will have differed appreciably from that elsewhere.

1. THE AMOUNT

The heirs of Antonius Priscus, late *buleutes* of Oxyrhynchus, pay a sum of 200 drachmas in Tybi εἰς τόκ(ον) ὧν ὀφείλ(ει)...βουλευτικῶν ἐκτετηρίων and a sum of 100 drachmas in Phamenoth for the same purpose. Since Mecheir is omitted and there is no mention of the amount for Tybi covering any arrears of payment, it is tempting to propose the working hypothesis that the interest due was 100 drachmas per month, totalling 1,200 drachmas per year. If the interest is being paid at the normal rate of 12 per cent (and there is no reason to suppose otherwise), the principal amount will then have been 10,000 drachmas. This, it may be supposed, was the amount exacted as an entrance-fee to the *bule* of Oxyrhynchus in the earlier part of the third century and it will have been paid only once by each individual, on election to the *bule*. This, at least, is the minimum figure (see below).

In *Ep.* 10. 112 Pliny is imprecise about the amounts paid in Bithynia by supernumerary *buleutae* ('*et singula milia denariorum et bina intulerunt*'), obviously for the good reason that the amounts were not precisely established. At any rate, we learn that such members were in the habit of paying the equivalent of 4,000 or 8,000 drachmas '*ob introitum*'. In the letter of Antoninus the amount laid down is 500 Attic drachmas (i.e. 2,000 drachmas),² but this could be an extraordinary levy of some kind; nor is it clear whether the instruction is to set up *de novo* a *bule* of eighty members or to increase an existing *bule* up to 80.³ There is therefore no ground for suggesting that the rate was a standard one throughout the Empire. In fact, such evidence as is available suggests that the amount varied from place to place. 20,000 sesterces are attested for the *decurionate* in

¹ SEG xiv 479 = IGBulg. 2663, cf. Oliver, *AJPh.* 79 (1958) 52-60.

² See P. Beatty Panop. 2. 30-1 note.

³ For provisions for increasing numbers at Tymandus (Pisidia) see Abbott and Johnson, no. 151.

Africa (as well as smaller amounts).¹ With this we might contrast a payment of 6,000 sesterces '*decurionatus nomine*' at Iguvium during the reign of Augustus.² But it is impossible to be sure that each (or any) of these recorded payments represents the full amount required for entrance to a *bule*. At all events, if an 8,000-drachma entrance-fee was being paid by supernumerary *buleutae* (presumably at least moderately well-to-do) in Bithynia during the reign of Trajan, we need not be surprised that the statutory amount exacted from *buleutae* in Oxyrhynchus over a century later was at least 10,000 drachmas.

It is impossible to be certain about the relationship between this amount and the *buleutic* census in the third century. For one thing, there is no evidence as to what the property qualification was for *buleutic* status in third-century Egypt. The βουλευτική ἀξία is mentioned (*SB* III 7261) but, as I have tried to show elsewhere,³ the evidence suggests that it was not on the basis of property alone that people were eligible for election to the *bule*. It is clear from X 1274 (third century), where the estate of a person of the gymnasial class is said to be worth 200,000 drachmas, that the minimum property qualification for *buleutic* status was not more than this; but in reality it might have been a good deal less. For the other provinces the only explicit evidence is again provided by Pliny. Writing to a friend and fellow-native of Comum, he says: '*esse autem tibi milium centum census, satis indicat quod apud nos decurio es*' (*Ep.* 1. 19). This seems to show clearly enough that in the reign of Trajan the qualification for a municipal *ordo decurionum* in Italy was 100,000 sesterces (= 100,000 drachmas). Again, this need not have been a standard amount throughout the provinces; but there is pleasing symmetry in a theory postulating a minimum qualification of 100,000 drachmas as one condition of entry to the *bule*, when the entrance-fee was probably 10,000 drachmas – not more than one-tenth of the supposed qualification. But it must remain a theory, for it is based on the supposition that the 10,000-drachma principal constituted the total entrance-fee.

The *buleutes* will have incurred the charge on his election to the *bule* and will presumably have had the option of paying it in a lump sum or borrowing some or all of it from the *buleutic* fund (see below) and repaying it at interest. There is no mention in the text of any repayment of principal, so two situations are possible. Either Antonius Priscus will have borrowed the whole of the entrance-fee, 10,000 drachmas, paying interest on it until the principal was repaid (which might mean more or less in perpetuity); or the 10,000 drachmas will represent either that portion of the principal which he still owes (the rest having been already repaid), or the whole of the principal loan which was only a part of the total entrance-fee required.

Whatever the case, the debt was probably secured upon his property, the *bule* having the right of execution, and became the liability of the heirs after his death. So, too, the debt of crown-money in 3177 seems to have been secured upon the property

¹ Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* n.s. 17 (1962) p. 103 nos. 345 and 345a.

² Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* n.s. 20 (1965) pp. 226-7, 286, no. 1325.

³ *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* pp. 25-30.

of the official and became the liability of the purchaser. The interest on the entrance-fee was paid to the *ταμία* of the *buleutic* fund, an official attested elsewhere only once (XII 1501).

2. THE BULEUTIC FUND

Whereas payments for crowns of office (*στεπτικά*) accrued to the city fund (*πολιτικός λόγος*), the sole recipient of entrance-fees to the *bule* and attached interest was, so far as we can tell, the *buleutic* fund. This account was evidently internal to the *bule*, but there is very little evidence for it. Two documents from Oxyrhynchus (XII 1501, XII 1416) show that it provided loans for *buleutae* and supported expenses incurred in the performance of official duties. Possibly also it provided a source of loans for *buleutae* to enable them to pay their crown-money (*στεπτικόν*) for magistracies.¹ The new evidence of it providing loans to enable *buleutae* to pay their entrance-fees to the *bule* is therefore in no way surprising.

Whatever other purposes the fund served, it is important to note that there is no evidence for it providing money for the upkeep of amenities and public buildings in the metropolis; these were supported by the *πολιτικός λόγος* which did not, so far as we know, draw upon the *buleutic* fund. Hence, whilst in other provinces the resources of the *bule* were used to contribute toward building baths (Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 39. 5) or paying for the inscription of honorary decrees,² the papyri provide no evidence of this sort. In I 41 there is evidence for some kind of an honorary *ψήφισμα* for a *prytane* which has to be referred to the *bule*, but the financial aspects of this are not mentioned. Nor do we know anything about expenses involved in the upkeep of the *βουλευτήριον* or other aspects of the functioning of the *bule* which might have been subsidized by the *buleutic* fund.

- (m. 1) *Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης Δωρίωνος ἀγορ(ανομ)*
βουλευτῆς ταμίας βουλ(ευτικῶν) χρημάτων τῆς Ὁξυ-
ρυγχιτῶν π[ό]λ(εως) κληρονό(μοις) Ἀντωνίου Πρίσκου
ἀγορ(ανομήσαντος) γενο(μένου) βουλ(ευτοῦ) χαίρειν. διεγρ(άψατέ) μοι τῇ
ἐνεστῶσῃ
 5 *ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τόκ(ον) ὧν ὀφείλ(ει) ὁ προτεταγ(μένος) Ἀντώνιος Πρίσκ(ος)*
βουλ(ευτικῶν) ἰσιτηρίων δραχμὰς διακοσίας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) C⁻.
[(ἔτους)] ιβ
Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐ[ρηλίου] Σεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδ[ρ]ου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σε[βα]στοῦ Τυβι ι. . . (m. 2?)
Αὐρήλ(ιος)
Ἡρακλείδ[ης] ἔ[χ]ον τὰς τοῦ τόκου δρα[χμ]ᾶ[ς] διακοσίας γί(νονται)
(δραχμαὶ) C⁻.

¹ Cf. Jouguet, *Revue Égyptologique* n.s. 1 (1919) 66-8.

² *Forschungen in Ephesos* III, no. 57.

- 10 (m. 1) *καὶ τῇ [. . .] τοῦ Φαμενώθ μην(ός) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ιβ (ἔτους) [[Φα]]*
διεγρ(άψατε)
εἰς λ[όγ]ο[ν] τόκ(ον) β[ο]υλ(ευτικῶν) εἰσιτηρίων ἄλλ[α]ς δραχμὰς
ἑκατ[όν] (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)] ρ⁻. (ἔτους) ιβ Αὐτοκράτορος Καί[σα]ρος
Μάρκου
Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς
Εὐτυ[χοῦ]ς Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενώθ . . . (m. 2?) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἡρακλεί-
 15 *δης ἔ[χ]ον τὰς τοῦ τόκ[ου] δραχμὰς [έ]κατὸν γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρ⁻.*

5 ο in δ corr. from λ? 6 ἰσιτηρίων, l. εἰσιτηρίων

'Aurelius Heraclides son of Dorion, (ex-?) agoranomus councillor treasurer of the council funds of the city of the Oxyrhynchites to the heirs of Antonius Priscus, ex-agoranomus formerly councillor, greetings. You have paid to me on the present day for interest on entrance-fees to the council owed by the aforementioned Antonius Priscus two hundred drachmas, that is drachmas 200. Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 1. . (2nd hand?) I, Aurelius Heraclides, have received the two hundred drachmas of interest, that is drachmas 200. (1st hand) And on the . . . th of the month of Phamenoth of the same 12th year you have paid on account of interest on entrance-fees to the council another one hundred drachmas, that is drachmas 100. Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth. . . (2nd hand?) I, Aurelius Heraclides, have received the one hundred drachmas of interest, that is drachmas 100.'

1 As in many cases, a resolution into either *ἀγορ(ανόμος)* or *ἀγορ(ανομήσας)* would satisfy the normal order of titles.

2 Only one other man with this title is attested, namely Aurelius Ammonius of XII 1501.

8 The second numeral is badly abraded; ς looks to be the most likely reading, but is at best dubious.

14 Only minute traces of the numerals remain. The first is compatible with either iota or kappa.

3176. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT¹

23 3B. 11/D (16)b

9.0 × 15.7 cm.

Reign of Severus Alexander

This papyrus, incomplete at the head and the foot, contains a request for payment almost identical to that in 3173. The contractors involved are the same, the month for which payment is requested is Epeiph. In this document the address and the year are lost, but both could comfortably be restored by analogy with 3173. The hand is different from that of 3173. The back of the papyrus is blank.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 10 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

Traces of two lines

- ἐνά[ρ]χω πρυτάνι τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πρόλ[ε]ως
 πα[ρ[ᾶ] Ἀυρηλίων Τυράγνου Πτολεμαίου
 5 καὶ Ἀπειτος Πτολλίων[ο]ς ἀμφοτέρων
 μισθωτῶν βαλανείου πρότερον
 Ἀρρίου Ἀπολινάριου νυνὶ δὲ τῆς πόλε-
 ως. αἰτούμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι ἐκ τοῦ
 τῆς πόλεως λόγου ὑπὲρ μισθῶν
 10 ἥς ποιούμεθα ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ ὄντος μη-
 νὸς Ἐπεὶφ τὰς αἰρούσας τῶδε τῶ μηνὶ
 ἀκολούθως αἰρέσει ἡμῶν δραχμὰς
 πε[ντ]ακοσίας καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιστεῖλλέ
 σε τῶ ταμίᾳ τῶν πολιτικῶν
 15 χρημάτων τὸν ἐξοδιασμὸν
 ἡ]μεῖν ποιήσασθαι τῶν προκειμέ-
 νων]ν δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων.
 (ἔτους) .]. Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
 Ἀυρηλίου]ν Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου
 20 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐ]τυχοῦς [Cεβ]α[στοῦ, Ἐπεὶφ

1 l. πρυτάνει 13 l. ἐπιστεῖλαι 14 l. πολιτικῶν 16 l. ἡμῶν

‘To prytane-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the Aurelii Tyrannus son of Ptolemaeus and Apeis son of Ptolion, both contractors of the bath formerly belonging to Arrius Apolinarius but now belonging to the city. We ask to have remitted from the city account on behalf of wages for the service which we are performing in the present month of Epeiph the five hundred drachmas apportioned to this month in accordance with our undertaking and we ask that you order the treasurer of the city funds to make the payment to us of the abovementioned five hundred drachmas. Year n of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph.’

1-2 The address to be restored is certainly the same as in 3173, but the traces are too distorted for any definite reading.

4-5 In 3173, 3-4 the mothers of both the contractors are named.

12 Only the first two letters of αἰρέσει are really clear. I owe the suggestion to Dr R. A. Coles. This phrase is the only significant difference from 3173.

3177. NOTICE OF PAYMENT OF CROWN-MONEY¹

31 4B. 9/H (1-4) d

10.2 × 17.3 cm.

4 October A.D. 247

A light-coloured piece of papyrus, complete except for the loss of several letters from the left-hand side of lines in the upper portion. The document is written in a good third-century business hand, with the letters well formed and clearly separated. The writing is on the front along the fibres. The back is blank except for a few apparently meaningless scrawls which might have been made to clean off the pen preparatory to writing.

The content of the text is straightforward. Aurelia Tanenteris, daughter of a sacred virgin and herself formerly a sacred virgin, sends a notice through Aurelius Osarapis, a *stolistes*, to the treasurer of the city fund stating that she has paid the 500 drachmas owed on a debt of 1,500 drachmas for the crown-money of an *exegeteia* and that she has received a receipt.

The word στεπτικόν has hitherto occurred only in one published document. In XII 1413. 6 it is stated with reference to the election of exegetae that a certain Plution owes στεπτικόν: ὁ Πλουτίων στεπτικὸν ἔτι ὀφείλει ἥς ἀνεδέξατο ἀπὸ τιμῶν ἐξηγητείας. The editors naturally suggested that the term referred to payments for crowns of office and the new evidence supports that view. The practice of crowning magistrates is amply attested in Greece (e.g. Demosthenes 21. 32, 26. 5), and remained current throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire. There are several references in the papyri to crowns of office for metropolitan ἀρχαὶ before and after the reforms of Septimius Severus (P.Ryl. II 77. 37, 50, SBV 7696. 97, VIII 1117. 5, X 1252 v ii. 20). It is not surprising to find that the privilege of wearing a crown of office was one which had to be bought. An unpublished London papyrus (inv. 1938) is said to contain an account of στεφανικὸν ἀρχόντων for A.D. 198 (see Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*, p. 32, Wegener, *Symbolae Van Oven*, p. 175 note 83). There is now evidence that in 247 the crown of an exegetes cost 1,500 drachmas (there being no statement in the text that the amounts mentioned do not constitute the whole of the debt) and that the money was paid into the πολιτικὸς λόγος as distinct from the resources of the board of exegetae or the *bule* (see introd. to 3175). We must therefore make a careful distinction between (1) fees for crowns of office (στεπτικόν) accruing to the πολιτικὸς λόγος, as is attested both by 3177 and by the fact that a list of people owing such payments was maintained by the γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν (XII 1413. 7); (2) other resources of the individual κοινά of magistrates (gymnasiarchs, exegetae etc.). This was, according to the editors of P.Ryl. II 77, the nature of the payment of two talents promised by Achilles in lines 36 ff., and the fact that two talents is clearly too much for a crown-payment, but a reasonable amount for a contribution to an office lasting probably not less than one year suggests that this surmise was correct. The debt of one talent 5500 drachmas owed by a cosmetes in P.Princ. II 71. 3 is presumably

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 3 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

of the same kind. The payment in P.Ryl. 77 is called an *εἰσπῆριον*, but it must not be confused with (3) the fee of the same name exacted from entrants to the *bule* in the third century (see 3175) which accrued to the private fund of the council (*βουλευτικά χρήματα*).

As I have suggested elsewhere (*The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 43-4), there is no evidence in the third century for a connexion between the officials known as οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων and the crowns of office, and the new evidence reinforces the belief that the latter were the concern of officials attached to the *πολιτικός λόγος*. The only possible evidence for such a connexion in the second century is P.Ryl. 77. 27 ff. where οἱ διέποντες τὴν τῶν στεμμάτων διοίκησιν appear to have confiscated the keys of a house in connexion with a pretence of *ἀπορία*, but there is no specific reference to a crown-payment here; and since the *ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* is known to have existed before the reforms of Septimius Severus (P.Ryl. II 86. 2 note) it is likely that it was his responsibility in the second century, as in the third, to look after these payments.

→ *Αὐρηλία Τα]γεντήρις Πετοσίριος*
] μητρὸς ἱερᾶς παρθένου
 γενο]μένη ἱερὰ παρθένος δι' ἐμοῦ
Αὐρηλίου]ν Ὁσαράπιος στολιστοῦ πα-
 5] *Αὐρηλίου] Ἀθηναίου τῷ καὶ Ἡ-*
ρακλεί]δῃ κοσμητῇ βουλευτῇ τα-
μία π]ρλειτικῶν χρημάτων τῆς
Ὁξύρυγ]χειτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν.
μ[ετρεβ]αλόμην σοι εἰς τὸν τῆς πόλε-
 10 *ως [λόγ]ον εἰς λόγον στεπτικοῦ ἐξη-*
γητ[ε]! [ας Α]ὐρηλίου Σερήνου τοῦ καὶ
...]. [...]. ου τὰς ὑ[π]έρ ἧς ἐώνη-
μαι οἰκίας] παλαιᾶς δις[ς]τέγου ἐπ' ἀμ-
φόδου Δρό]μου Θοήριδος μεθ' ἧς μετρε-
 15 *βαλόμην τ]ῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ δι-*
ελθ[όντο]ς δ (ἔτους) διὰ τοῦ μετρηλαχό-
τος μ[ου] πατρὸς Αὐρηλ(ίου) Πετοσίριος
καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν δραχμὰς χειλεί-
ας καὶ νῦν τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς
 20 *πεντακοσίας, γίνονται δραχμαὶ*
πεντακόσιαι, ὧν καὶ ἀποχὴν ἔς-
χον. (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκρατόρων
Καισάρων Μάρκων Ἰουλίων

Φιλίππων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν

25 *Σεβαστῶν, Φαῶφι 5^τ.*

2 ἱερα 3 ἱερα 7 l. πολιτικῶν 8 l. Ὁξύρυγχιτῶν 12 ὑ[π]έρ 18-19 l. χιλίας

'Aurelia Tanenteris, daughter of Petosiris, whose mother was a sacred virgin, herself formerly a sacred virgin, through me Aurelius Osarapis, (hereditary?) *stolistes*, to Aurelius Athenaeus also called Heraclides, cosmes councilor treasurer of the city funds of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I have remitted to you for the city account on account of crown-payment for the office of exegetes of Aurelius Serenus also called, the drachmas for the old, two-storey house which I have bought in the Thoeis Street quarter, in addition to the remittance of a thousand drachmas which I made to the same city in the past 4th year through my deceased father Aurelius Petosiris and however he was styled, hereby and now the remaining five hundred drachmas, total drachmas five hundred, for which I have received a receipt. Year 5 of Imperatores Caesares Marci Julii Philippi Pii Felices Augusti, Phaophi 6.'

2-3 There is space for about nine letters at the beginning of line 2. The restoration might be a grandfather's name or καὶ ὡς ἐχρη(μάτιζεν) (cf. l. 18) or οὐσα ἐκ. It seems unlikely that the mother's name will have occurred at this point. The title of ἱερὰ παρθένος clearly refers to the female attendants of a deity, but it is infrequently attested in Greco-Roman Egypt. It is mentioned in the Canopus Decree of the Ptolemaic period (OGIS 56. 66-8): ὑμνεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὴν (Berenice) καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιλεγομένων ἱερῶν παρθένων ἀναφέρειν τὰς ἱερὰς παρθένους στάχυν τοὺς παρατεθηρομένους τῷ ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ, and in P. Mert. II 73. 1 of A.D. 163-4 which contains a declaration by a ἱερὰ παρθένος made through a priest of Athena Thoeis, Isis, Sarapis and the *κύνναοι θεοί*. In both attestations, in contrast to the present document, the deities are specified, and since the provenance of P. Mert. 73 is also Oxyrhynchus we might suppose the same deities to be involved. The word required at the beginning of l. 3 seems likely to be γενο]μένη in view of the space available. Presumably the mother also ceased to be a sacred virgin at some point before the birth of her daughter.

4-5 For a probable identification see P.S.I. IX 1039 (A.D. 111): *Αὐρηλίου Ὁσαράπι ἀρχιπροφήτῃ καὶ πρωτοστολιστῇ τῶν . . . πρωτολογίων καὶ λογί(μων) ἱερῶν*, presumably representing a later stage in his career and therefore to be dated after 247. There is also a *ἱερέυς* named Osarapis in XXXIII 2679, but if the assignation to the second century is correct he will be a different man; rare though the name is, it is credible that it is attested for two different people both holding religious positions. For the qualification of *στολιστής* (on which see Otto, *Priester und Tempel* 1, pp. 83 ff.) the name of some deity or temple would be appropriate but no obviously suitable restoration presents itself. It is known that such offices could be inherited (P. Teb. II 298, 302, 611, B.G.U. I 162, cf. X 1265, 17 ff.) and *πα[ραδοχίμου]* supplies this sense; it is, however, unless abbreviated, a little too long for the lacuna.

5-6 This man is known from P. Osl. III 111. 258-9, 288-9 where his title is simply *βουλευτής*.

6-7 On the *ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 44-6.

10 On the *στεπτικόν* see introd. For the actual ceremony of crowning (*στεφύς*) see W. Chr. 41. ii. 8-11, the crowning of a gymnasiarch on Thoth 1; XVII 2147, also perhaps a gymnasiarch on the first of a month; 3202, the crowning of a prytane in Tybi.

12 The first surviving trace is compatible with nu, the last letter could be upsilon or sigma, more probably the latter. The connexion between the debt and ownership of the house is presumably that Serenus' debt of *στεπτικόν* was secured on his property which was subsequently purchased by Aurelia Tanenteris. Such a lien, or freedom from it, is commonly mentioned in contracts of lease or purchase, e.g. IX 1208. 20 ff.; also, in cases of *cessio bonorum* the debts attaching to the property became the responsibility of the person taking it over (see XXXVIII 2854). In the case of non-payment the city would have the right of execution upon the property (cf. SB VI 9315, P. Princ. II 71. 18, XII 1413. 14).

18 ff. I understand the amount of 1,500 drachmas to be the total payment for the crown of an exegetes; otherwise we would expect some such phrase as ὧν ὀφείλει ὑπὲρ στεπτικοῦ. The amount thus accruing to the city fund must have been quite considerable since there were several magistrates

in each of the individual *κοινά* per year. The amount of *στειπτικόν* for the different *ἀρχαί* might have differed as did the amounts of contribution required for office, see P. Ryl. II 77. 37-9 where it is stated that the position of *cosmetes* is more expensive than that of *exegetes*, though lower-ranking.

3178. NOMINATION OF A COMARCH

19 2B. 16/F (4-5)a

8.5 × 26 cm.

28 August A.D. 248

The comarch of a Heracleopolite village notifies the nome strategus that he has chosen Pakouis, son of Petesouchus, to succeed him in the comarchy. This is the earliest known nomination of a comarch, and the only one from the Heracleopolite nome. The formula varies in some details from hitherto published nominations, but no essential difference in procedure is indicated. Other nominations of comarchs are P. Flor. I 2 ix and x (Hermopolite, A.D. 265); P. Cair. Isid. 125 (Arsinoite, A.D. 308); P. Goth. 5 (provenance uncertain, A.D. 318); SB VI 9544 (Panopolite, A.D. 322); P. Amh. II 139 (Hermopolite, A.D. 350).

The text begins 9 cm. from the upper edge of the papyrus.

Unless the nominating comarch here is in fact one of a group, and nominates his own successor without mentioning his colleagues, 3178 is an addition to the eleven instances of village administration by a single comarch during the Roman and Byzantine periods listed by H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* (diss. Marburg, 1970), pp. 29-32; cf. F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 154. But the first possibility is hardly to be taken seriously, as it would represent a real difference from the nomination procedure known from three other nomes, and a disadvantageous one for the government, inasmuch as the number of direct sureties for the nominee's future performance would thereby be reduced.

- Κορνηλι[c. 6 τ]ῷ καὶ Πρόκλῳ
στρατη[γῶ] Ἡρακλεοπολείτου
παρὰ Αὐρ[ηλίου . . .] νου Ἀρμυῖσιος
ἀπὸ ἐπο[ικίου . . .] ἐρήμου κω-
5 μάρχου [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ἐποικίου.
αἰροῦμαι ἀ[ντ]ὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τῷ ἰδίῳ
κινδύνῳ κατὰ τὸ προάγον ἔθος
εἰς τὴν προκειμένην κωμαρχί-
αν πρὸς τὸ ἐξιδόν 5 (ἔτος) τὸν ὑπο-
10 [γεγ]ραμμέν[ο]ν ὄντα εὐπ[ο]ρον
[καὶ] ἐπιτήδειον. ἔστι δέ·
Πακούεις Πετεσούχου μητρὸς
Ἀνογείριος (ἐτῶν) ξγ' πόρον ἔχ(ων).

3178. NOMINATION OF A COMARCH

- [(ἔτους)] εἴ' Αὐτ[ο]κράτορων Καيسάρων
15 [Μάρκων Ἰ]ου[λίων] Φιλίππων Εὐσεβῶ(ν)
[Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶ]ν, Μεσορῇ ἐπα-
[γομένων] εἴ'.
(m. 2) [Αὐρήλιος . . .] νος ἐπιδέδωκα
[ὡς πρόκει]ται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡρακλε-
20 [.] ἔγραψα] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φάσ-
[κοντος μὴ εἰδ]έ[ν]αι γράμματα.

6 ἰδτω

'To Corneli . . . also called Proclus, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, from Aurelius . . . , son of Harmiusis, from . . . Farmstead, comarch of the same farmstead. At my own risk and according to previous custom I choose to serve the aforesaid comarchy in place of myself for the coming 6th year the person stated below, who is a man of property and qualified. He is: Pakoueis, son of Petesouchus and Anogeiris, 63 years of age, with means. Year 5 of the Imperatores Caesares Marci Iulii Philippi Pii Felices Augusti, 5th epagomenal day of Mesore.

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius . . . , have submitted as stated. I, Aurelius Heracle . . . have written on his behalf, as he states that he is illiterate.'

1 This strategus was previously unknown.

4 For reasons of space the temptation to read ἐπο[ικίου] Ἐρήμου, 'Desert Farmstead', should probably be resisted. Παν[ε]ρήμου would do but is unattested.

5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ: restoration practically certain, as comarchs normally served in their *idia* (Oertel, p. 156).

6 αἰροῦμαι: in the parallels *δίδωμεν καὶ εἰσαγγέλλομεν* (P. Amh. II 139. 3) *vel sim*. The difference is one of formula and not of procedure, since the number of 'nominees' always matches the number of vacancies. Cf. Oertel, p. 155: the nomination 'hat nur den Charakter einer nachträglichen Bestätigung'.

9 5 (ἔτος): A.D. 248/9.

13 (ἐτῶν) ξγ: the highest age for a comarch or comarch-to-be yet attested; cf. Missler, p. 5 with n. 1, and p. 112. But at this period liturgies could still be imposed up to age 70, and social pressure might induce men to accept even burdens from which they might legally claim exemption: see N. Lewis, *Atti XI Congresso* 508-41, esp. p. 519.

πόρον ἔχ(ων): the value of the property was not stated. There was room for it to be added.

19-20 Ἡρακλε[δόωρος] would do.

19-21 Cf. Missler 105: 'Die Komarchen waren fast alle Analphabeten und mussten sich die Dokumente von anderen schreiben lassen.'

3179. DECAPROTUS RECEIPT

32. 4B. 3/M (1-2)d

17 × 8.5 cm.

A.D. 248/9

Receipt recording the transfer of $3\frac{3}{8}$ artabas of wheat from the account of one Apollonius at Mermertha to pay municipal taxes owed by Ammonarus and Saras (cf. 3181) at Nesmeimis. Other receipts in this exclusively Oxyrhynchite formula are III 613-18, XII 1539, 1540, and XXXI 2591; cf. III 517, 1-2 and XXXVIII 2872, 1. For discussion and bibliography see introd. and commentary to 2588-91; 3169; 3181.

↓ διεστάλ(ησαν) πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ε (ἔτους) Μ[ά]ρκων 'Ιου[λίων]
 Φιλίππων Καϊσάρων τῶν κυρίων διὰ δεκαπρώτ(ων) "Ανω [τοπ(αρχίας)]
 θης(αυροῦ) Μερμέρθων ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) 'Απολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ 'Ηρα[. . .]
 'Αμμωνάρω καὶ Καράτι 'Επι() Νεσμείμεως πόλ(εως) ἀρτ[άβαι]
 5 τρῖς τέταρτον ὄγδοον, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γδη'. κολ(λήματος) [. . .]

'Απερῶς σεση(μείωμαι)

'Transferred, of wheat from the crop of the past year 5 of the Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares the lords, through the decaproti of the Upper toparchy, the granary of Mermertha, from the deposit of Apollonius also called . . ., to Ammonarus and Saras, son of Epin(), for municipal dues at Nesmeimis, three and three-eighths artabas, total 3½ art. Column. . . Signed by me, Aperos.'

4 'Επι() Probably Saras's patronymic, conceivably the name of another village administered together with Nesmeimis. Not ἐπι(εμήσεως), since that institution is not attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and not ἐπὶ λ(όγου). For ν, η could be read.

5 κολ(λήματος) The column of the decaprotus records on which this transaction was recorded, if the reading is correct. Cf. XII 1539. 9 and 17; III 614.

3180. RECEIPT FOR Φόροι, Διδραχμία AND Ζευγματικά

32 4B. 3/M (1-2)a

11 × 10 cm.

4 August A.D. 250

Ammonarus son of Panares pays to a decaprotus a total of twenty-eight drachmas for land-rent, didrachmia and zeugmatika. Cf. notes to l. 5; and for Ammonarus, 3179 and 3181.

→ α (ἔτους) Γαίου Μεσίου Κύντου Τραιανοῦ
 Δεκίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Μεσορή ια'.
 διέγ(ραφεν) Αὐρηλίου Διονυσίου τῷ καὶ 'Απολλωνίῳ
 δεκαπρώτῳ 'Απηλιώτου τοπ(αρχίας) Αὐρήλιος
 'Αμμωνᾶ-
 5 ρος Πανάρους φόρων καὶ (διδραχμίας) καὶ
 ζευγ(ματικῶν) λή(μματος)
 τοῦ ἐνε[ς] τῶτ(ος) α (ἔτους) δραχ(μάς) ἑξοκὶ ὀκτώ,
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κη. Αὐρήλιος Λεωνίδης
 σεση(μείωμαι).

'Year 1 of Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Caesar the lord, Mesore 11. Paid to Aurelius Dionysius also called Apollonius, decaprotus of the Eastern toparchy, by Aurelius Ammonarus, son of Panares, for land-rents and the 2-drachma impost and zeugmatika, for the receipts of the present year 1, twenty-eight drachmas; total, 28 drachmas. Signed by me, Aurelius Leonides.'

5 φόρων: supports the editors' expansion φέ(ρου) in XVII 2129. 3, 52, 54 and 73 as against the alternative φο(ρέτρου) hesitantly suggested by Wallace, *Taxation* p. 382, n. 89. Φόροι here should

mean the cash rental of state, municipal or usiac lands (*op. cit.* p. 71). On the question whether the decaprotus himself was responsible for leasing such lands see Turner, *JEA* 22 (1936) 9, n. 7, who decides in the negative.

(διδραχμίας): cf. P. Lond. III 1217A (p. 61) and 1157 (pp. 61 ff.); XII 1442 int.; XVII 2129 int.; O. Strass. 580; P. Mert. III 116 int.; Wallace 67 f.

ζευγ(ματικῶν): in P. Lond. III 1157 (pp. 61 ff.) and XVII 2129 this tax is called (μονόδραχμος) ζευγ(ματικῶν) and as here is found in association with didrachmia. The possibility that the (μονόδραχμος) of 1442, 3 = ζευγματικά is discussed in the introduction to that text. A grain-transport ship called ζευγματικόν is known from XXIV 2415, 45 and 56; here an impost to support such a ship may be meant (cf. the familiar ναῦλον and the μερικμοί for various ships). For other possibilities see Wallace, p. 280.

3181. DECAPROTUS RECEIPT

32 4B 3/M (1-2)c

16 × 7.5 cm.

A.D. 251/2

Receipt recording two transactions: (a) delivery of grain from the deposit of Ammonarus and Saras at Pakerke to pay taxes at Psobthis for Tesiris, daughter of Anthestius; (b) delivery of a private deposit of grain to Didymion also called Leonides, from the deposit of Ammonarus alone at Psobthis.

Cf. 3179.

→ μεμέτ(ρηνται) εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α
 (ἔτους) Τραιβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου
 καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου 'Αφινίου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Οὐωλουσιανῷ
 Εὐς[ε]βῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, διὰ θης(αυροῦ) ἀπηλ(ιώτου) τοπ(αρχίας)
 Πακερκῇ
 ἀπὸ θέ(ματος) 'Αμμωνάρου καὶ Καράτος Τεσίρι 'Ανθεστίου
 5 Ψώβθεω[ς] πόλ(εως) ς [. . .] () (ἀρτάβαι) θλδ χ(οίνικες) δ, (γίνονται)
 ἀρτ(άβαι) ἐννέα ἡμις τέταρτον
 χοί(νικες) δ'. Αὐρήλιος Διον() δεκάπ(ρωτος) δι' ἐμοῦ Ζωιλ() τοῦ
 καὶ Καραπ() σεση(μείωμαι).
 (m. 2) καὶ δι(ὰ) θης(αυροῦ) Ψώβθεω[ς] ἀπὸ θέ(ματος) 'Αμμωνάρου Διδυμίωνι τῷ καὶ
 Λεωνίδῃ θέ(ματος) (ἀρτάβαι) η. ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σεση(μείωμαι).

2 μ in Οὐελδουμιανοῦ corrected from δ.

'Paid into the public granary, of wheat of the crop of the past year 1 of Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus, Pii Felices Augusti, through the granary at Pakerke of the Eastern toparchy, from the deposit of Ammonarus and Saras, for Tesiris, daughter of Anthestius, for municipal dues at Psobthis, 6th. . . 9½ art. 4 ch., total nine and three-quarters artabas, 4 choenices. Signed by me, Aurelius Dion(), decaprotus, acting through me, Zoil() also called Sarap().

(2nd hand) And through the granary at Psobthis, from the deposit of Ammonarus, to Didymion also called Leonides, 8 art. deposit. Signed by me, the same official.'

1-4 μεμέτ(ρηνται) . . . ἀπὸ θέ(ματος): an unparalleled expression. If the verb is to be given its

3183. REGISTRATION OF CHILDREN¹

28 4 B. 61/B (8)a

A 11.5 × 25 cm.
B 12 × 24.5 cm.

26 July A.D. 292

Two copies of a notice of registration of children addressed to the systates of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias. The texts are written by two different hands and each contains a docket written by a hand other than that of the main body of the document. The state of preservation of the two documents is roughly equivalent; variant readings in the second text are given in the apparatus. That there was a kollema on the first piece is evident from the fact that there is another strip of papyrus 3 cm. in width glued to the left-hand edge; but there is not enough to show whether the sheet was simply cut from a normal roll, or was pasted into a composite roll of similar notices. In both documents the back of the papyrus is blank. The text printed is that of A, variants in B being noted.

The texts contain a declaration by Aurelius Seuthes addressed to the systates of Oxyrhynchus and requesting the registration of two sons. The closest parallel to this is P. Corn. 18 which contains two copies of a similar request addressed to the same systates. There, however, only one copy has a docket and there are some slight differences in the formulas used. XXXVIII 2855 also contains an application to register a child (in the class of δωδεκάδραχμοι ἀπὸ γυμνασίου), dated to 291 and addressed to the board of *laographi* through one of their number, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias (again, the same man). P.S.I. III 164 (A.D. 287) is also comparable. The bibliography for documents of this type can be found in the introduction to 2855; add XLIII 3136, 3137.

- (m. 1) *Αὐρ[ηλίου Διογένη τῷ καὶ Ἑρμῖα συστάτῃ*
τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλεως τοῦ
ἐνεστῶ-
τ[ος] ἡ (ἔτους) καὶ ζ (ἔτους) vac.
πα[ρὰ] Αὐρηλίου Σεύθου vac. μη(τρός) Ταποῦ-
 5 *το[ς] ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλεως.*
βο[ύλομαι] πρῶτως ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀναγρα-
φῆ[ναι] τοὺς γεγονότας μοι ἐκ τῆς συνού-
ρη[ς] μοι γυνεκὸς Αὐρηλίας Ἀπίας Θεώνος
 10 *υἱὸν Αὐρηλίου ἐπὶ μὲν ἀμφόδου Παμ-*
μ[έ]νους Παραδίου Θεώνιον ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἡ
ξ[π]ὶ δὲ ἀμφ[ό]δου [Τ]ευμενούθεως Νεμεσίω-
να] ἐπικεκλημ[ένου] Παρετβέα ὡς (ἐτῶν) ζ.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 23 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

- διὸ] ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπ[όμνημα] ἀξιῶν ταγή-
 γαι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπ[ὸ]
 15 *κοῦ] γραφῆς ἀφελίκων ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμ[ηλί-*
κω]ν τάξιν ὡς καθήκει καὶ ὁμνῶ [τὸν
ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις ὅρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.
(ἔτους) ἡ" καὶ (ἔτους) ζ" τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλ[ητιανοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 20 *Μεσορή β-.*
 (m. 2) *Τευμενούθεως.*
Θώνης vac. [(ἐτῶν) ἡ
Νεμεσίων ἐπικ(εκκλημένους) Παρετβ[ε]δς (ἐτῶν) ζ
υἱοὶ φυσικοὶ μυρεὶς ἐν Τῇ
 25 *διὰ Ἑρακλήου πρυτανεύσας.*

1 *l.* Διογένη, B διογένη τω καὶ ἐρμεία 2 *B* λαμπρας καὶ λαμπροτάτης οὔρυγγειων 8 *l.*
 γυναικός, B γυναικος 9 *B* υἱός 12 *B* πα[ρ]ετβέα 13 ὑπ[όμνημα] 14 ὑπ[ὸ] 16 *l.*
 τάξει, καθήκει, B τάξει, καθήκει B μαξιμιανόν 21 *B* τευμενούθεως καὶ παμμενους 22 *B* ιδ
 23 *B* πανεγ'γους 24 υἱοὶ 25 *l.* πρυτανεύσαντος

'To Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias, systates of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, for the present 8th year and 7th year, from Aurelius Seuthes, son of (blank), whose mother is Tapous, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I wish that henceforth for the first time there be registered the sons born to me from the woman living with me, Aurelia Apia, daughter of Theon, the Aurelii Thonius about eight years old, (born?) in the quarter of Pammenes' Garden, and Nemesion surnamed Panetbeus about seven years old, (born?) in the quarter of Teumenouthis, and I therefore hand in the memorandum, requesting that they be enrolled in the list of minors placed on record by you in the category of their coevals as is fitting, and I swear the customary oath of the Romans that I have made no false statement. Year 8 and 7 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Mesore 2. Teumenouthis; Thonis, 8 years, Nemesion surnamed Panetbeus, 7 years. Sons by nature in Teis (?), through Heracleus, ex-prytane.'

1 For this systates see P. Corn. 18. 1 and XXXVIII 2855, where he is described as one of the *laographi*.

4 The space after Σεύθου which exists in both copies was perhaps left for the name of the father which might have been unascertained at the time of writing (cf. 3184 b. 16).

14-15 The phrase διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπὸ κοῦ γραφῆς ἀφελίκων does not occur in P. Corn. 18, but cf. XLIII 3137. 14 and n.

21-5 The dockets on both copies seem to be very confused. A lists both sons under Teumenouthis, whereas B has both Teumenouthis and Pammenous, but in the wrong order (if they are supposed to correspond with the information in the main document). In B the age of Thonius (or Thonis) is given as 14, a mistake which might be due to the fact that the eta in line 10 is written with a triangle at the top of the second hasta formed by extending the cross-stroke to the right and bringing the pen diagonally upwards.

24 The letters seem clear enough on both copies, but appear to make no sense. 2855 ends very similarly: [Ἀρεῖαν]ός υἱός Ἀρεῖανός οὐετρανός ἐν Θω[c. 6] διὰ Κορηλίου (lines 29-30). The editor remarks the fact that the son is being registered in an *amphodon* of the city, whereas his father and

sponsor belong to an Oxyrhynchite village. Similarly here, we would expect the name of the father, but it does not seem possible to read it. Even though the father is alive, there is still a sponsor, Heracleus, the ex-pyrtane.

3184. LISTS OF VILLAGE LITURGISTS¹

28 4B 60/D (3)a

A large piece of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* containing two complete documents and, at the left-hand side, a strip from the right-hand edge of a third. The back of the papyrus contains an account of a later date written after the *κόλλησις* was made. Each of the preserved documents is a list of village liturgists (*γραφὴ λειτουργῶν*, see now Lewis, *BASP* 8 (1970) 115 f.) comparable to that in XXXIV 2714. The major point of interest in 3184 is that the lists were addressed by the comarchs of the villages of Talao and Muchintale respectively to Aurelius Asclepiades also called Achillion, the *πρωτοστάτης μερῶν κάτω τοπαρχίας*. This official title has so far occurred only thrice – first in SB VI 9502 where the *protostates* is the recipient of a land-declaration sent by a *horiodeictes* (see l. 6 note). The position was one which was evidently created in the late third century in order to provide more officials for the nome administration, but it presumably fell into disuse after the establishment of the *praepositus pagi* (cf. Böhm, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 254–74). The similar list of A.D. 256 (2714) was addressed to the strategus of the nome; the new documents attest that this duty was taken over by the *protostatae* of areas of the toparchies and are hence to be seen as important evidence for the gradual decline in the position of the strategus.

The account on the back consists of substantial remains of two columns (33 and 36 lines respectively) of writing of the early fourth century. The entries are arranged by villages, amongst which are *Μερμέρθα* (i 21), *ἐποικίου Καπαπίου* (i 30), *Κερύφω* (ii 14), *Τα[λαώ]* (ii 9), *ᾠφέως* (ii 17) and *Κεσμύχως* (ii 30). The entries consist of names followed by amounts in drachmas; the majority though not all of the amounts are 1,200 or 2,400 drachmas, see P. Oxy. XLII p. 101 for the special association of multiples of 1,200 dr. with the tax called *ἐπικεφάλαιον*. Since the heading is *Λουκίου συστάτου*, cf. *ibid.*, item (9) in the table, and the *systates* is often a signatory to receipts for this tax, it seems very likely that this account is also associated with it. Col. i 26–34 reads:

↓ *Κιλβανός Διοσκόρου* (δραχμαὶ) 'AC'
Ἀμόιος Καπαπάμ(ω)νος (δραχμαὶ) 'AC'
Πατερμούθις (δραχμαὶ) 'AC'
Ψόιος Διδύμου (δραχμαὶ) 'AC'

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 22 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV, and discussed in 'Some Aspects of the Reforms of Diocletian in Egypt', *Akten d. XIII. int. Kongr. d. Pap.* (Marburg, 1971).

30 *ἐποικίου Καπαπίου*
Πατερμούθις υἱὸς Στεφάνου (δραχμαὶ) 'Bu'
καὶ Στέφανος
Ψόιος υἱὸς ᾠδρου (δραχμαὶ) 'B
Ἀμόιος Διονυσίου (δραχμαὶ) 'Bx

a

11.6 × 28.7 cm.

October/November A.D. 296

- (m. 1) *ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτ[ορος]*
Διοκλήτιανου τὸ ξ καὶ Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτ[ου]
Καίσαρος <τὸ β>. *vac.*
Αὐρηλίω Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἀχιλλίῳ γε(νομένῳ)
 5 *ὑπομνηματογράφῳ γυμ(νασιάρχῳ) βου(λευτῇ) δις πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς*
λαμ(πρᾶς)
καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυ(γχιτῶν) πόλεως πρωτοστάτῃ μερῶν κάτω
το(παρχίας)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Πεκύ[σι]ρος Ἀμόιος καὶ Θεα-
γένους Μιύσιος ἀμφοτ(έρων) κωμάρχων γενομένῳ(ν)
κώμης Μουχιντάλη τοῦ διελθόντος ιβ (ἔτους)
 10 *καὶ ια (ἔτους) καὶ δ (ἔτους). γραφὴ λειτουργῶν τῆς αὐτῆς*
κώμης τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους)
οἱ συς-
τατίς καὶ ἐπιδιδομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν γνώμη
πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης. εἰς δέ·
Αὐρηλίου κωμάρχου. *vac.*
 15 *Παγώνιος Πανσείριος μη(τρὸς) Σεναμόνιος. τελ().*
Παρετβῆς Ἀμμωνί[ο]ν μη(τρὸς) Θατρήτος. τελ().
ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης. *vac.*
Τοτοῆς Τοτωέως μη(τρὸς) Θακώριος. τελ().
πε]διοφύλαξ. *vac.*
 20 *... υρις Καννᾶτος μη(τρὸς) Θερμουθίου. [τελ().]*
πατομωφύλαξ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀρίων·
... cis Ἐκύσιος μη(τρὸς) Κοήριος. [τελ().]
οἱ πάν]τες ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς κώμης.
vac.

(ἔτους) ιγς] καὶ ιβς τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρ[ατ(όρων)]

- 25 Διοκλη[τ]ιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἐς
τῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμ[ιαν]οῦ
ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων Σεβαστῶν, Ἀθὺρ [.].

vac.

- (m. 2) Αὐ[ρ]ήλι[ο]ς [ΙΙ]εκδς καὶ Θεαγένης ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.
Αὐ[ρ]ήλι[ο]ς [ΙΙ]ογ[έν]ης ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαιμέν[ων]
30 μὴ [εἰ]δέναι γράμματα.

8 μῦσιος Ι. γενομένου(ν) κωμάρχων 11-12 Ι. ἡ εὐσταθεῖσα 21 Ι. ποταμοφύλαξ 22 ἐκῦσιος

'In the consulship of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus for the sixth time and Constantius, most illustrious Caesar, for the second time. To Aurelius Asclepiades also called Achillion, formerly hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor, twice formerly prytane of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisor of areas of the Lower toparchy, from the Aurelii Pekysis, son of Amois, and Theagenes, son of Miysis, both formerly comarchs of the village of Muchintale for the past 12th year and 11th year and 4th year. The list of liturgists of the same village of the present 13th year and 12th year and 5th year, compiled and presented by us with the consent of all the inhabitants of the same village. They are: Aurelii: Comarchs: Pagonius, son of Pausiris, whose mother is Senamounis. Ratified. Panetbes, son of Ammonius, whose mother is Thatres. Ratified. Overseer of the peace: Totoes, son of Totoeus, whose mother is Thakoritis. Ratified.

Field-guard: . . . uris, son of Cannas, whose mother is Thermouthion. Ratified.

River-guard of our boundaries: . . . sis, son of Hekysis, whose mother is Soeris. Ratified. All from the same village.

Year 13 and year 12 of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus most illustrious Caesares Augusti, Hathyr . . . We, Aurelii Pekysis and Theagenes, have presented this. I, Aurelius Diogenes, wrote on their behalf since they said they do not know how to write.'

3 The writer omitted to designate the consulship of Constantius as his second. It is curious that the writer of (b) has also made a mistake with the consuls (see l. 2 note).

4-6 An Aurelius Asclepiades, son of Achillion, is known from XXVII 2477 to have been prytane in 288-9; Asclepiades also called Achillion is most probably the same man and the prytany of 288-9 will be one of the terms of office referred to by the phrase *δις πρυτανεύσαντι* (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix 1, note 22).

This text supplies the fourth piece of evidence for the office of *protostates* of part of a toparchy; other references are in SB VI 9502, P. Cair. Isid. 64 (of a village) and XXXVIII 2849, all dating from the same period as 3184. In a note to the most recent publication (2849. 1) the editor reviewed the evidence and concluded that the official was a short-lived creation and that it is inaccurate to regard him as having been replaced by the *praepositus pagi*. We might, however, safely suppose that the duties of the *protostates* were subsumed under the responsibilities of the *praepositus pagi*. Lists of village liturgists which were earlier sent to the strategus (XXXIV 2714, P. Flor. I 2. ix-x) are, by A.D. 296, the responsibility of the *protostates* (3184), later of the *praepositus pagi* (P. Amh. II 139, P. Got. 5-6, P. Cair. Isid. 125). It is also of interest to note that the *protostatae* formed a *κοινόν* (2849). The other *protostates* whose name is known is Valerius Julianus also called Dioscurides (SB 9502); he was logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome over twenty years later (I 42, VI 900).

8 On the role of the comarch in liturgies see H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* (Diss. Marburg, 1970) pp. 102-113; 3178.

14 On the various liturgists see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Service* (=ICS). Curiously, the latter has no entry for the *potamophylax* (see 21 n.).

15 The traces of the first three letters suit *π*ay best; I take this to be a variant of the attested name *Παγώνις* (VI 989, XXXIV 2714, 3). For the abbreviation *τελ*- see XXXIV 2714, 21 note. If the explanation there offered is correct - that it signifies ratification or publication - we need to account for the fact that it occurs against only one name in 2714 and against all (given that the restorations in lines 20 and 22 are correct) in 3184. The simplest explanation would be that, since 2714 is dated Thoth 1 whilst 3184 was written in Hathyr, there was more time in the latter case for the ratification to be completed.

20 The most obvious restoration for the first name would be *Πετεύρις* or *Μαιεύρις*; Maieuris is perhaps slightly favoured by the fact that the bottom of the first surviving letter is an upright curving to the right - characteristic of iota in this hand, but not of tau, which bends to the left.

21 The qualifying phrase attached to the *potamophylax* is curious and I cannot parallel it; but the meaning seems clear enough.

27 The surviving trace of the numeral would suit either iota or kappa, but it might also be a numeral under ten, perhaps epsilon or gamma.

b

11.6 × 24.8 cm.

9 January A.D. 297

- (m. 1) ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε" καὶ Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καίσαρος τὸ β'. *vac.*
Αὐρηλίω Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ καὶ Τιλλίῳ γενομένῳ
5 ὑπομν(ηματογράφῳ) γυμν(ασιάρχῳ) βουλ(ευτῇ) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ
λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρ(υγχιτῶν) πόλεως
πρωτοστάτῃ μερῶν [κ]άτω τοπαρχίας *vac.*
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Παττάριος Ἀτίου καὶ Σαραπίων(ος)
Ὡρου ἀμφοτ(έρων) κωμάρχ(ων) κώμης Ταλαῶ τοῦ ἐνοστῶ-
τος ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους). γραφή λιτουργῶν τῆς αὐ-
10 τῆς κώμης τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνοστῶτος ἔτους
ἡ συνθεθῆκα καὶ ἐπιδιδομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν γνώ-
μη πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.
εἰς δέ· Αὐρήλιοι· *vac.*
ἐπιστάτης ἱρήνης· Παρίτ' Ἀτρήτος μη(τρὸς) Ταποντῶτο(ς).
15 φύλαξ αὐτοῦ Πτολαιμεῖος ἐπικ(εκλημένος) Κόλου Πτολαιμέου
vac. μη(τρὸς) *vac.* τελ().
πεδιοφύλακες· Σαρμάτης Θεοδώρου μη(τρὸς) Μαρίας. τελ().
Πλουτίων μη(τρὸς) Στενπαρίτ', τελ().
οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.
vac.
20 (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ ιβ" τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Α]ὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιαν(οῦ)

καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ε (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Κωνσταντίου κα[α]ὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων
 Τῦβι γ. vac.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιοι Πάτταρις καὶ Σαραπίων ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Αὐρήλι-
 25 ος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαιμένων μὴ εἰδέναι
 γράμματ]α.

2 l. Μαξιμιανῶ 4 l. Ἀχιλλίων 5 ὑπομν 7 πατ'ταριος 8-9 l. ἐνεστῶτος 10 l.
 ἐνεστῶτος 11 l. συντεθείσα 14 ἱρηνης l. εἰρήνης 15 l. Πτολεμαῖος, Πτολεμαίου

'In the consulship of our lords Maximianus Augustus for the fifth time and Constantius, most illustrious Caesar, for the second time. To Aurelius Asclepiades also called Achillion, formerly hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisor of areas of the Lower toparchy, from the Aurelii Pattaris, son of Atius, and Sarapion, son of Horus, both comarchs of the village of Talao of the present 13th year and 12th year and 5th year. The list of liturgists of the same village for the same present year composed and presented by us with the consent of all the inhabitants of the same village. They are: Aurelii:

Overseer of the peace: Parit, son of Hatres, whose mother is Tapontos. His guard: Ptolemaeus surnamed Kolou, son of Ptolemaeus, whose mother is (blank). Ratified.

Field-guards: Sarmates, son of Theodorus, whose mother is Maria. Ratified. Ploution, son of, whose mother is Stenparit. Ratified. All from the same village.

Year 13 and 12 of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most illustrious Caesares, Tybi 13.

We, Aurelii Pattaris and Sarapion, have presented this. I, Aurelius, wrote for them since they said they do not know how to write.'

2-3 The writer has made a mistake with the consuls. In 297 they were Maximianus Augustus (V) and Maximianus Caesar (Galerius) (II). But he has at least the excuse that he was writing very soon after the beginning of the Roman year (cf. (a) 3 note). Dr Rea suggests that the mistakes and omissions here and in 4 and 16 occur because the scribe was copying from an exemplar he could not read.

4 On Asclepiades see (a) 4-6 note. Τυλλίων for Ἀχιλλίων: see 2-3 n.

7 The first name is read on the assumption that it is a variant for Περτίρις. The orthography would permit a reading of Πατταρία Κατίου, but that seems less satisfactory since the variant would be even more radical and Κάτιος is not in NB.

14 For the name Parit see VII 1048. It is an Egyptian name; I am indebted to Mr W. J. Tait for references to Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* 1, p. 65, cf. p. 55 and Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, pp. 256-7.

15 I take the name Kolou to be an indeclinable, probably Egyptian, name. It does not appear in NB.

16 The writer left a space for the mother's name, but did not fill it in (cf. 3183. 4). See 2-3 n.

18 The patronymic is difficult to read; perhaps Νεμεσί[ο]υ or Νεμεσι[νο]ῦ. The name Stenparit is obviously formed from Parit (see note to l. 14).

23 Note that the appointments listed in (b) were made under the comarchs of the current year. The list in (a) was submitted by the former comarchs since the appointments were presumably made in the previous Alexandrian year.

3185. ORDER TO PAY¹

24 3 B. 72/K (g)

21.2 × 8.0 cm.

Third century

This letter is written on the back of a papyrus containing a fragment of a report of proceedings before a Roman emperor. A prytane writes to a scribe of the city account directing him to pay four talents' weight of lead to the lead-workers on the baths, crediting to the prytane an amount for an advance he had made.

For a discussion of public expenditures on the baths at Oxyrhynchus and other places in the third and fourth centuries and the control exerted by the bule and the prytane (before the institution of the logistes) see *The Town Councils*, pp. 87-90. Apart from the details of the payment, the text presents no new information, but the occurrence (for only the second time) of the γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν is noteworthy.

↓ (m. 1) π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως Σαραπάμμωνι γραμματὶ πολιτικῶν χ[αίρειν.
 παράδος

ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ σοὶ μολοίβου ὑπὲρ τιμῆς κασιτερίνου ὀλκῆς [. . .] τάλαν[των
 ξ χωρηάν(των) εἰς κόλλησιν τῶν σωλήνων τοῦ Καίσαρος βαλανεί[ου]

.

ω καὶ Ἀμότι καὶ Νεφερώτι καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς μολυβουργοῖς

(m. 2) ὀλκῇ[ς τάλαντα δ

5 ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) (m. 1) ἐνλογουμένων μοι ὑπὲρ ἧς πεποίη[κα] μαι' προχρείας
 ὀλκῇ[ς τάλαντων?]

vac. (m. 2) ἐρρώσθαί σε εὔχομαι, φίλτατε.

(ἔτος) ας Ἐπεῖφ 5^τ. καὶ παράδος τοῦ μολύβου ὀλκῆς τάλαντ(α)
 τέσσ[αρα].

1 l. γραμματεῖ 2 l. μολύβου, κασιτερίνου 5 v περ, ἐπὶ λογ in margin

'From the prytane to Sarapammon, scribe of the city account, greetings. Supply from the lead in your possession for the price of seven talents' weight of tin which have gone for soldering the pipes of the baths of Caesar to . . . and Amois and Nepheros and their fellow lead-workers four talents by weight (in margin, 2nd hand, 'on account'), a weight of . . . being credited to me for the advance I have made. (2nd hand) I pray for your health, my dearest friend. Year 1, Epeiph 6. And supply four talents by weight of the lead.'

1 For the form of address see e.g. XII 1499. For the γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν see XII 1413. 7, Lewis, *ICS* s.v.

2 For payments in connexion with the baths controlled by the bule and the prytane see e.g. XII 1499-1500, 3173, C. P. Herm. 94; for the competence of the logistes in the fourth century see e.g. VIII 1104, I 84.

3 κόλλησιν τῶν σωλήνων: cf. VI 915. The baths of Caesar (cf. I 43 verso iv. 24) are perhaps the same as the Thermae Hadrianae, see XXXI 2569. 6 note.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 5 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv. The text on the front (to be published later) seems not to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*.

5 An amount must be supplied at the end of the line. The marginal insertion presumably refers to the amount to be credited to the prytane.

7 The reading of the date is partly conjectural. The bottom half of alpha is clear, as is the stigma beneath a numeral stroke. The remains of two long descenders before it suggest that Epeiph is the correct reading.

3186. EXTRACT FROM A REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS¹

19 2B. 79/K (b)

4.5 × 6.5 cm.

Third century

Two small fragments of papyrus containing, on this side, an extract from a report of proceedings (*ὑπομνηματισμοί*, see 3187 introd.) before an official in Antinoopolis, which is written across the fibres. To the left of this extract are traces of lines written in a different hand. On the other side of the papyrus is a fragment of an account written along the fibres. Although the two main hands are very different, it is difficult to establish any certain chronological relationship between them. The proceedings are written in letters small, neat and well defined, whilst the account is written by a much more typical business hand which does not seem to offer any criteria for a dating more precise than the third century.

The surviving portion of the report is so meagre as to offer no connected sense, but it is evident that some kind of hearing was being conducted, one of the parties involved being represented, perhaps by an advocate. The document does provide what seems to be an example of the conjunction of the offices of syndic and designate-prytane (cf. *M. Chr.* 196) as well as an occurrence of the term *προβολαί*, which presumably refers to an election of some kind (cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 98–103). All of which suggests that the hearing might have been connected with some kind of irregularity in an election made by the bule of Antinoopolis.

↓
 ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν
 ἐν Ἀντινοῦ πόλει [
 ναι Καλπούρνιον .[
 σύνδικον μελλοπρ[ύτανιν
 5 λέγω ὑπὲρ Ὀφελλί[ου
 λομένοισι ὅταν δεῖ[
 οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑπο[
 ἀπεφύγω ἐπὶ των[
 τὰς προβολὰς γειν[
 10 τινα καὶ ἐπιψηφισ[
 ρειν[], προβάλλετ[

1 ὑπομνηματισμῶν 5 ὑπερ 7 ὑπο

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 8 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

1–2 For a similar introduction to an extract from proceedings before an epistrategus in Antinoopolis see *SB V* 7601.

4 For these officials see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 46–52, 60.

5 This indicates some kind of professional representation, as is common in documents of this type (e.g. *SB V* 7696).

6 The last three letters could be differently distributed, e.g. *ῥταν δὲ δ[*.

10 This could be completed as from *ἐπιψηφιστής*, *ἐπιψηφισμός* (see 3187 introd.), *ἐπὶ ψηφίσ[ματος* or some part of the verb *ἐπιψηφίζειν*.

11 A minute trace of one letter in the middle of the line is visible and there is perhaps room for another. So the restoration could be, for example, *αἱ[ρ]εῖν [δ]᾽* *προβάλλετ[ε* or *][ρ]εῖν ᾧ* *προβάλλετ[ε* or *προβάλλετ[αι*. In the latter the verb would be understood in the general sense of proposal rather than as referring to part of the electoral procedure (cf. l. 9).

3187. PROCEEDINGS OF THE BULE¹

29 4B 56/E (6–8)a
 (9)a

a 15.0 × 17.0 cm.
 b 2.5 × 2.5 cm.

24 July A.D. 300

One large piece and one small fragment from a document containing on the front an abstract from a report of proceedings of the bule of Oxyrhynchus. The large piece is incomplete at the bottom and in addition a good part of the lower left-hand side has been lost. On the back is a docket, written twice, describing the contents of the document. In the first instance a good deal of the docket has been almost completely obliterated due to the fact that that section of the papyrus faced outwards after it had been folded. There are in fact three vertical folds, which clearly caused the writer to add the second docket, written from bottom to top, also on the outward-facing section of the folded papyrus. The small scrap cannot be placed and is assigned to this document on the basis of the hand alone; since we do not know how much of the document is lost from the bottom it is probable that this scrap belongs to the lower part of the report. On the back of it there are a few letters in a very different, rather bookish hand.

The report is described as being *ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν*, which means that instead of being a *verbatim* account of a complete meeting it merely describes one discussion² (cf. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (1966) pp. 22–3). Other documents of this type are known (e.g. VIII 1103), but the contents of the present example are of interest not only for the elaborate preface and the attestation of a new prytane, but for the details of the discussion which centre around the procedure to be followed in elections by the bule. The main point, it seems, is that in all cases of *ὀνομασία* to an office it is necessary that there be an *εἰσηγητής* καὶ *ἐπιψηφιστής*; the first term seems to mean the introducer of a candidate and the second suggests the person who gets something put to the vote. But one person can fulfil both these functions, as in B.G.U. II 362. xi. 20–xii. 2, xv. 2–9. For a full discussion of this and related topics see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 98–107.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 7 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

² Cf. l. 8 *μετ' ἄλλα κέμματα*.

a

- (m. 1) ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς
τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχι(τιῶν) πόλεως
πρυτανίας Αὐρηλίου Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ καὶ Διοσκοῦ-
ρίδου γενομένου ὑπομνη(ματογράφου) γυμν(ασιάρχου) βουλ(ευτοῦ),
ἔτους ις''
5 καὶ ἔτους ιε'' καὶ ἡ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μ[α]ξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων, Ἐπειφ
λ'. βουλῆς οὗσης, μετ' ἄλλα κέμματα Αὐρήλιος Ἀν-
τώνιος ὁ καὶ Φιλέας ἐξηγητῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας γυμν(ασιάρχ)
10 [εἰ](πεν)· [.....]. [.....].. ως τὰς ὀνομασίας γείνεσθαι μετ' εἰ-
[σηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπιψη]φιστοῦ. Φι[λο]ύμενος ὁ καὶ Φιλι-
[.....] ὠνομ[άθη]σαν εἰσηγητοῦ
[καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ μ]ὴ γενομένου. ἄ[κυρο]ς ἡ ὀνομασία ἐς-
[.....]ς ὁ καὶ Πλούταρχος γυμνα(σιαρχήσας) πρυταν(εύσας)
15 [εἰ](πεν)· μετ' εἰσηγητ[ρ]οῦ καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ χρή τὰς ὀνομα-
[σίας ποιέ]ν. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πρυτανίας
[.....]...[.....]ν τιπες καὶ μὴ χθόντες εἰσηγητὰς
[καὶ ἐπιψη]φιστὰς τοῦτο εἰς γνώσιν τοῦ κυρίου μου
[ἡγεμόνο]ς ἀνήγεγκα. μεθ' ἕτερα ὁ πρύτανις εἰ(πεν)·
20 [.....]. ὀνόματα πάντων παρατίθημι
[.....]των καὶ τῶν νῦν
[.....]ῆμετερα τὸ προσήκον
[.....]ς]ύνδικος εἰ(πεν)· ἐπὶ τῶν
[.....]. φανεροί εἰσιν. ὁ πρύ-
25 [τανις Ἀλεξά?]νδρεῖς ὄντες καὶ οἱ

b

→]....[
]εσθαι ηρα[
]κολουθου[

] εἰδέναι [

5]δρια..[

a

Back ↓ (m. 2) ἐξ ὑπομνηματι{ς}σμῶν τῇ[ς
κρατίστης βουλῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς [καὶ
λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως)

vac.

→]σμῶν τῆς κρατ[

5] καὶ λαμπροτ[

b

→ (m. 3) .οξ[.
πα[
ου[

1 ὑπομνηματισμῶν 2 οξυρυγ'χ' 3 l. πρυτανείας, also 16 4 ὑπομνη 10 μετ'ει
19 ἀνήγεγ'κα

'From the *acta* of the most excellent council of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites in the prytany of Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides formerly hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor, year 16 year 15 and year 8 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesares, Epeiph 30. In a meeting of the council, after other discussions Aurelius Antonius also called Phileas exegetes of Alexandria (ex-?) gymnasiarch said: '..... that nominations take place with an introducer and proposer'. Philumenos also called Phili..... (said): "The nomination (of those who?) were nominated without an introducer and proposer is(?) invalid." also called Plutarchus ex-gymnasiarch ex-prytane said: "It is necessary to make nominations with an introducer and proposer. Indeed, in my prytany and since we did not have introducers and proposers I brought this to the attention of my lord the *praeses*." After other statements the prytane said: (Back) From the *acta* of the most excellent council of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

(a) 3-4 Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides was also prytane in the following (Alexandrian) year, 300-1 (3188) and was deputy prytane at some other time in the early fourth century (P. Oxy. ined. 6, described in *The Town Councils*, appendix iv). The word *γενόμενος* is taken to apply to all of the following titles except that of *buleutes* (see *The Town Councils*, p. 142).

7-8 The thirtieth of the month was the date set for a statutory meeting of the *bule* (νομίμη βουλῇ), see *The Town Councils*, pp. 32-6 and P. Oxy. ined. 24 (described in appendix iv).

9-10 As is usual in reports of proceedings of the council, the title of *buleutes* is not attached to the speakers (cf. e.g. XII 1413-14). Antonius also called Phileas could have been a current or an ex-gymnasiarch.

11-12 The name Philumenos is restored with some diffidence, but there seems no doubt that the letter before mu is upsilon. The second name was probably either Philippus or Philiscus.

10-16 The structure of the text is not quite clear. The view presented is that there are three speakers, Antonius (10-11), Philumenus (12-14) and Plutarchus (16 seqq.). An alternative might be to assume only two speakers, Antonius (10-14) and Plutarchus (16 seqq.), in which case Philumenus would be one of the subjects of *ὀνομα[σθέν]σαν* (12). The passage might have run e.g. *[ἐπεὶ, δέον ἐννόμως τὰς ὀνομασίας γένεσθαι μετ' εἰσηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ, Φ. ὁ καὶ Φ. [καὶ Χ] ὀνομασθένσαν εἰσηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ μὴ γενομένου, ἄ[κυρο]ς ἡ ὀνομασία ἐστὶ (ἔστω?), 'Since, although it is essential that nominations should be lawfully made with the assistance of an introducer and a proposer, Philumenus (and X) were nominated without the assistance of an introducer and a proposer, the nomination is invalid' (or 'let the nomination be invalid')].*

14 This man is previously unattested as prytane; perhaps he is to be identified with Plutarchus alias Actactius of IX 1204. There is also a gymnasiarch and buletes named Plutarchus in XXXVIII 2849.

17 The restoration required here includes a verb, presumably a third person plural in view of the syntax, and the remaining nu suits this. As for the three letters of which traces remain, the first two seem to be omicron and nu.

19 *ἡγεμόνο]ς*: the surviving trace, a horizontal stroke, compares well with the sigma of this hand and seems to exclude the possibility of restoring *ἐπάρχου*.

20 For *παρτίθῃμι* cf. XII 1413, 14.

23 For the syndic and his relation to the bule see *The Town Councils*, pp. 46-52.

25 If this restoration is correct, there was perhaps a reference to some special privilege or responsibility falling to members of the metropolitan council who were Alexandrians.

Back. The second docket is clearly the same as the first, see introd.

(b) Back. 1. The third letter might be a xi.

3188. ORDER FOR LIEN ON PROPERTY¹

3 1 B. 85/D (1) a

20 × 25 cm.

11 September A.D. 300

A letter from the prytane of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides, to the bibliophylakes requesting them to register a lien on the property of Aurelius Dionysius son of Plutarchus until he has fulfilled the obligations of the office of chief-priest to which he has recently been elected. The practice of placing property under lien as a surety for the fulfilment of office is well attested in regard to state liturgies and posts (see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 358-9, Taubenschlag, *Law*², pp. 689-90, Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 72). If there is a default in office the state has the right of execution upon the property of the defaulter. The practice is also attested in connexion with metropolitan liturgies (see ll. 8-9 note); in these cases it will naturally be the city which has the right of execution upon the property of a defaulter. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no published document which provides a parallel to this text; but the new information does not include any surprising or anomalous details.

The prytane Aurelius Themistocles-Dioscurides was previously known from I 103, of A.D. 316, where, in line 2, *πρυτανε[ύ]ανται* should be read instead of *πρυτανε[ύ]ονται*.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 16 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

He is also attested in 3187, also of A.D. 300 but the previous Alexandrian year, from which I have restored his titles in the present text, and in an undated text¹ where he is titled ex-prytane and deputy prytane.

The papyrus is complete at all margins, but largish pieces have been lost from the left- and right-hand sides at the top; a few letters are missing from the ends of some lines and the top layer of fibres has been stripped from the beginnings of two lines. The back of the papyrus is blank.

→ *Αὐρή(λιος) Θεμιστοκ[λ]ῆς ὁ καὶ Διοσκ[ουρίδης] γενό(μενος) ὑπομνηματογράφος*
γυ(μνασίαρχος) βουλ(ευτῆς) πρυτ[ανεύσας] ἑναρχος πρύτ[ανις] τῆς

᾽Οξ(υρ)υγχιτῶν πόλ(εως) Αὐρη(λίους) . . .

καὶ . . .] βιβλιοφύλ(αξι) ἐγκτή[ε]ων τ[ῆς] αὐτῆς

τ[ό]λ(εως) τοῖς φιλ(τάτοις) χαίρ(ειν).

5 *Α[ὐρ]ηλίου Διονυσίου Πλουτάρχου χειροτονηθέντος σῆμ[ε]-*
ρον ἐ[ἵς] ἀρ[χ]ιερ[ω]ζύνης ἀρχῆν ὑπὸ Αὐρη(λίων) Θωνίου καὶ
Ἀμμωνίου ἀμφο(τέρων) ἀρχό(ντων) βουλ(ευτῶν) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐπιστέ[λ]-
λω ὑμῖν, φ[ι]λτατοι, ἵνα τὴν δέουσαν κατοχὴν τοῦ
ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσῃθε ἕως ἂν πάντα τὰ τῇ

10 *ἀρχῇ διαφέροντα ἀποπληρωθῇ.*

vac.

(Ἔτους) ιζ['] καὶ ις['] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων

Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξίμιανου [Cε]β[α]ς] τῶν καὶ ἔτο[υς] θ τῶν

κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξίμιανου ἐπιφανεστέρων

Καيسάρων, Θῶθ ιδ['].

¹ Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides, formerly hypomnematographus and gymnasiarch, councillor ex-prytane prytane-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites to Aurelius . . . and . . . , keepers of the property registers of the same city, his dearest colleagues, greetings. Aurelius Dionysius son of Plutarchus having been elected yesterday to the office of the chief-priesthood by Aurelius Thonius and Ammonius, both magistrates and councillors of the same city, I send you notice, dearest colleagues, in order that you may record the necessary claim against his name until all the obligations pertaining to the office have been fulfilled. Year 17 and 16 of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 9 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most illustrious Caesares, Thoth 14.

¹ There can be no doubt about the restoration of the name of the prytane (for his titles and other terms of office see introd.). On the term of office of the prytane (annual) see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61-5.

2-3 There are no traces before *βιβλιοφύλ(αξι)*. I have restored on the calculation of a maximum of about 45 letters to a line, which demands short or abbreviated names for the bibliophylakes. Alternatively, one might suppose that the names were omitted and that τῆς ᾽Οξυρ)υγχιτῶν πόλεως was written in a more extended form.

¹ P. Oxy. ined. 6, *loc. cit.*

5-6 For χειροτονία to office in connexion with the bule see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 104-7. If the reading of σήμερον is correct the election will have been made on Thoth 13. It is not stated that it was made in the bule and the date does not militate in favour of the supposition (*op. cit.* pp. 32-6). For the reading of the office only the last four letters are certain - the other traces are minimal. In 7 the description preceding βουλ(ετων) is also much rubbed, but the last letter is read by J. R. Rea as a clear o, i.e. ἀρχό(ντων) not ἀρχι(ερέων). Possibly this is an error for ἀρχι(ερέων) or ἀρχι(ερατευσάντων). Normally the individual boards of ἄρχοντες were responsible for electing their colleagues or successors (*SB V 7696*. 110-11 τὴν ὀνομασίαν ποιεῖν... τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοὺς ἀρχιερέας κτλ.).

8-10 κατοχή is a lien on property made as a security against default, see e.g. P. Ryl. II 174. 22, XIV 1634. For its connexion with liturgies performed for the state see the discussions cited in the introduction. The practice is mentioned in the Edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, *OGIS 669*. 21 ff. (cf. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* (1964), pp. 123-36): κελεύει οὖν, ὅστις ἂν ἐνθάδε ἐπίτροπος τοῦ κυρίου ἢ οἰκονόμος ὑποπτόν τινα ἔχη τῶν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι ὄντων, κατέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνο[μ]α ἢ προγράφειν ὑ[π]α[ρ]χόντων ἐν τῇ τοιούτῳ συνβάλλῃ ἢ μέρη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ κατέχειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις γραμματοφυλακίοις πρὸς ὀφείλημα. Similarly with regard to arrears in nomarchic collections, B.G.U. I 8. 11. 4 ff.: φρόντισον κατασχεῖν [μὴ μόνον τῶν] νομαρχῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐνεχομένων καὶ τοῦ χηροτονήσαντος αὐ[τοῦ] πρυτάνεως τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, μέχρις ἂν [ἡ ἀπόδοσις τῶν] ὀφειλομένων γ[έ]νηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρ[ων] χρόνων ὀφειλόμενα. The same practice is in evidence with regard to the metropolitan office of cosmetes in P. Princ. II 71. 17 ff.: Πομπηϊανὸς τάλαντον καὶ [(δραχμὰς)] ἔφ' ἐπὶ ὀφείλει καὶ ἐπὶ κατέχεται το[6-7]. ὅλον διδόντος οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκεμ[έ]νων ἐν σοὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐξετέλεσας κομητεία[ς] and perhaps in XII 1413. 14 where a syndic reports to the bule that he has impounded property (κατελήφα πόρον) and will inform it of the amount involved.

3189. RECEIPT FOR TAX¹

8 I B. 197/E (1) b

10.0 × 8.0 cm.

Late third or early
fourth century A.D.

A dark brown piece of papyrus of coarse quality containing a receipt for the rarely mentioned τέλος ἀθηροπωλῶν, paid into the city bank through the designate-prytane. The papyrus is incomplete at the bottom and the date clause is lost. The hand is a bold cursive of the late third or early fourth century. Apart from the fact that the tax is mentioned elsewhere only once, so far as I can ascertain, points of interest in the text are the unusual description of the designate-prytane as πρύτανις τῆς μελλούσης (see l. 4, note) and the fact that the money was paid ἐν χάρτῃ (see l. 7, note). The back of the papyrus is blank.

→ δι(έγραψεν) ἐπὶ τὴν πολι-
κὴν τράπεζαν ὑ(πὲρ) τέ-
λους ἀθηροπωλῶν
δι(ὰ) Γερμανοῦ πρυ(τάνεως) τῆς
5 μελλούσης Εὐτρυγίου
τοῦ καὶ Οὐρανίου
ἐν χάρτῃ ἀργυρίου

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 2 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

δραχμὰς πεντακοστί-
ας, [(γίνονται) (δραχμαί)] φ[.....]

5-6 I. Εὐτρύγιος ὁ καὶ Οὐράνιος

¹ Eutrygius also called Uranius has paid into the city bank, for tax on pulse-sellers, through Germanus designate-prytane, five hundred drachmas in paper, total drachmas 500

2-3 For this tax see XII 1432 (A.D. 214), Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 207.

4-5 For payment of tax through the prytane see P. Flor. I 63. The name of Germanus is an addition to the list of known prytanes of Oxyrhynchus. For the phrase πρύτανις τῆς μελλούσης the word πρυτανείας is presumably to be supplied; for the quasi-adjectival use of the participle of μέλλω see P. Lond. 113. 3. 2-3 (I, p. 207), LSJ s.v. (iv). For a similar description of a designated official see P. Flor. I 39. 4: συστάτης τῆς μελλούσης λιτου[ργεῖν] φυ[λῆς]. The normal term for a designate-prytane is μελλοπρύτανις or ἀποδεδειγμένος πρύτανις, see *The Town Councils*, pp. 59-60.

7 I interpret the phrase ἐν χάρτῃ as meaning that the money was wrapped in paper (as is understandable if it was paid through an intermediary) rather than that payment was made in the form of 500 drachmas-worth of papyrus or 'on paper' (i.e. in the form of a promissory note, a usage which I cannot parallel). For the practice of wrapping things in paper see P. Mich. VIII 468. 19 and P. J. Parsons, *La Parola del Passato* 121 (1968) 287-90. Parsons' preference for retention of the reading in P. Mich. 468 (*op. cit.* note 19) could be supported by the observation that a cake of ink was the only item in the list which needed wrapping (to avoid a mess). We may perhaps compare XXXI 2571. 11 ff., but I can see no solution to the difficulty there encountered by the editor, unless ἀργύριοι χάρται are 'money papers' (i.e. 'cheques').

9 The restoration (which must be regarded as tentative) is based upon the fact that the only surviving trace suits the hasta of a phi and the spacing required.

3190. ORDER TO ARREST¹

1 I B. 211/B (c)

13.0 × 6.3 cm.

Late third-early fourth century

This papyrus, which is complete but for the loss of a few letters at the left-hand side, contains a judicial summons written along the fibres on what appears to be the less finished side of the sheet. A prytane orders the comarchs and public officials of a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome to deliver into the hands of the nomophylax a former nomi-karios and his mother. The other side of the sheet is blank.

For recent discussion of such documents see P. Mich. IX 589-91 introd. (add XLIII 3130). A distinction is drawn between 'summons' and 'orders to arrest'; 3190 is probably to be classified amongst the latter, for the phrasing of the order suggests that the people are to be escorted to the metropolis under guard (cf. I 64, XII 1506, 3). The text is of interest for several points. That the order was issued by the prytane (presumably of the bule of Oxyrhynchus) does not necessarily indicate any special area of judicial competence for this official. It is probably to be seen simply as part of his area of administrative

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 21 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

competence and may perhaps be compared with the situation in P. Beatty Panop. 1. 192-201 where the proedros of the bule of Panopolis is called upon by the central government to provide personnel to assist in a search for wanted persons. The fact that the hand is of the late third or early fourth century is also of some importance, for it yields not only the latest attestation of the nomophylax but also one of the earliest of the term nomikarios (see 3 and 4 nn.).

→ π(αρά) τοῦ] πρυτάνεως vac.
 κωμάρχαις καὶ δημοσίαις κώμης Πακέρκη.
 ἐ]ξαυτῆς παράδοτε τῷ ἀποσταλέντι νομοφύ-
 λακ]ι .[.]ειον τὸν ποτὲ νομικάριον καὶ τὴν μητέ-
 5 ρα αὐτο]ῦ Βηξοῦν, ἐντυ[γ]χοῦσης Ἰσιδώ-
 ρας.] vac.

4 ἐντυγχοῦσης Ἰσιδω

'From the prytane to the comarchs and public officials of the village of Pakerke. Hand over immediately to the nomophylax who has been dispatched . . . eius the one-time nomikarios and his mother Besous, at the petition of Isidora.'

3-4. The latest definitely dated attestation of the nomophylax is A.D. 186 (see Lewis, *ICS* s.v.); the official is mentioned in two texts assigned to the third century, O. Mich. 161 and P. Ross.-Georg. V 56, and in P. Mich. IX 590. 1, assigned to the same period as 3190. The derivation of the term (whether from νόμος or νομός) is still uncertain (see XII 1440. 7 note).

4 The term νομικάριος occurs twice in the late third century (XII 1416. 21, P. Beatty Panop. 1. 252, 386). It is usually assumed to mean 'lawyer', but in a note to P. Beatty Panop. 1. 252, where a nomikarios is concerned with financial estimates for repairs to a fort, Skeat suggested that the term perhaps refers to a nome official. As for the name, "[ρ]ειον fits the available space and the traces.

3191. REGISTER OF CORRESPONDENCE¹

22 3 B. 14/C (2-3)a

15.5 × 31.1 cm.

September A.D. 302

This fragment of a correspondence register, which is incomplete at all margins, consists of two pieces of papyrus glued together. The fact that the writing crosses the join at two points shows that the sheet was made up prior to use. As is common in documents of this type, the lines were probably of considerable length and no connected sense can be recovered from what remains of this text. This being the case, the papyrus is of interest more for its form than its content. It contains a series of copies, arranged in two columns, of outgoing correspondence of the bule in the month of Thoth, A.D. 302. Documents of this kind are known (e.g. XIX 2228, P. Beatty Panop. 1-2), but this is the first example of a collection of correspondence of the bule, although we might compare

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 4 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

a text such as C.P.Herm. 78 which contains a letter addressed to the bule and one from it to the treasurer of the city fund. But the present text is clearly a summarized record of correspondence, made up for the official archives; this much is demonstrated by the form of address used in the letters in the second column: τῷ αὐτῷ ἡ βουλή διὰ τοῦ πρυτάνεως. The mention of Μισηνοί in l. 24 excites interest only to frustrate it. In all, parts of eight letters survive. The back of the papyrus is blank.

i
 → φ]ίλτατς.
 vac.
],ων εἰς τὴν λαμπροτάτην Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν],αι καὶ ἔχεται τῆς τῶν στιχαρίων
 ?]
 vac.
 5]ξια τῶν προπολιτενομένων
]ηρ[.]τας δοκιμάζεσθαι εἰ τρο-
 π]ροσκήκ[ο]γτ[ο]ς κόσμου δεῖ ἀνύεσθαι
]ησεν ἐπισταλῆναί σοι ὅπως προ-
]υσιῶ ἵνα ἐπὶ παρόντων ἀπάντων
 vac.
 10 π]αρόντι ἐξ[.]]εδει[.]].ν
 vac.

ii
 →].[
].ερι.τ.[
].νεγκα[
 τ . . . παρὰ τῶν τριῶν
 5 νων ἡμῶν τὴν απ[
 (ἔτους) ιθ ιη ια , Θῶ[θ
 τῷ αὐτῷ ἡ βουλή διὰ τοῦ [πρυτάνεως
 εἰς τὸ ἐνταῦθα ναυ[
 ἐξῆς ἐνγεγραμμε[ν
 10 (ἔτους) [ι]θς' ιης' ιας', Θῶθ [
 τῷ αὐτῷ ἡ βουλή διὰ [τοῦ πρυτάνεως
 τῶν ἀποστελλομένων]

χρείας ἐπιστάτην .[α-]
 πὸ Μισηνῶν ἐπι.
 15 (ἔτους) ιθς' ιη[ς] ιας', Θψ[θ]
 στ[ρ]α(τηγῶ) ἡ βουλὴ δ[ιὰ τοῦ πρυτάνεως
].[

i. 5 l. προπολιτευομένων i. 9 ἵνα ii. 3 .νεγ'κα

i. 1 Probably ἐρῶσθαι ἐε εὔχομαι, φ]λτατε.

2-3 The references to Alexandria and to *στιχάρια* suggest the likelihood that the subject of this letter is the transport of clothing, perhaps in payment of tax (*anabolicum* is known to have included *στιχάρια*, see XII 1414 with *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 70-4 and VIII 1136). At the beginning of line 2 it would be possible to restore ἀποστελλομένων (cf. ii. 12).

4 If the subject of the letter is the transport of clothing, the word to be supplied at the beginning of this line will be ἀνακομιδὴ *vel sim.*

5 The trace of the first surviving letter on the papyrus does not particularly favour ὀνομασία. Perhaps ὑπηρεσία should be restored. For the suggestion that προπολιτευόμενοι are not prytanes, as is commonly supposed, but the equivalent of *principales*, see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix III.

6 Restore perhaps ὑπ[η]ρ[ε]τας. For the lack of evidence for δοκιμασία by the bule see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 86, 108. Here, of course, it might refer to some other official or body.

9 Perhaps (e.g.) Διονύσιος should be restored.

10 For the word at the end of the line π[ο]ι[ε]ῖν, for example, is about the right length but the traces are inconclusive.

ii. 1 A reading of]οθεγτ[is compatible with the surviving traces.

8 In view of ἀπὸ Μισηνῶν in lines 13-14 the most attractive restoration for the last word in this line is ναυ[τικόν].

14 For references to the imperial fleet see e.g. B.G.U. I 113, P. Mich. VIII 490-1; a reference to it naturally comes to mind from the appearance of Misenum here (cf. note to line ii 8).

3192. SWORN DECLARATION¹

32 4B. 7/B (1)a + /M (5-6)a

10.0 × 26.3 cm.

9 May A.D. 307

Two pieces of papyrus containing on the front the complete text of an interesting declaration addressed to a hitherto unattested prytane of the bule of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Dioscorus also called Helladius. The back of the papyrus is blank.

Aurelius Timotheus, son of Sarapiades, declares on oath that he has never engaged in the trade of selling donkeys and is not doing so at present. The reason for the declaration is that he has been 'harassed' (μετῆλθαν) by the donkey-sellers of Oxyrhynchus in connexion with the supply of two donkeys to the *magister rei privatae* (cf. XIX 2228. 27-36). Presumably this burden had been laid on the donkey-sellers as a group and they had

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 13 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV. My edition of this text owes much to the assistance of P. J. Parsons.

attempted to fix it on Timotheus as being one of their number; the sworn declaration is then made in order to escape from the obligation.

Apart from the attestation of a new prytane, a point of interest in the document is the word ὀνομάγγωνες, which has not appeared before and is a good example of the formation of a hybrid word.

→ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Σεουήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου
 ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Διοσκόρῳ τῷ καὶ Ἑλλαδίῳ
 5 γυ(μνασιαρχ) βουλ(ευτῇ) ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνι τῆς
 λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
 Αὐρηλίος Τιμόθεος Σαραπιάδου{ς}
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐπιδὴ οὐ
 δεόντως μετῆλθάν με οἱ τῆς αὐ-
 10 τῆς πόλεως ὀνομάγγωνες ὥς
 περὶ συστάσεως ὄνων δύο ἀποστελ-
 λομένων πρὸς τὸν διασημότατον
 μάγιστρον τῆς πριουάτης ὥς δη-
 θεν μετερχόμενόν με τὴν αὐτῶν
 15 τέχνην, κατὰ ταῦτα ὁμολογῶ ὁμνῶς
 τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σεουήρου Σεβαστῶν καὶ
 Μαξιμίνου καὶ [Κωνσταν]τίνου τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τύχην
 20 τὴν αὐτῶν τέχνην μηδεπώποτε πε-
 ποιηκέναι μηδὲ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ὕστε-
 ρον καταλημφθίην, ἐνοχος ἔσομαι τῷ
 θείῳ ὅρκῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ τούτου ἐπηρ-
 τημένῳ αὐτοῦ κινδύνῳ.
 25 (ἔτους) ιες' γς' ας' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σεουήρου Σεβαστῶν καὶ Μαξιμίνου
 καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καيسάρων, Παχῶν ιδ.

5 l. πρυτάνει 6 οξυρυγχιτων 8 l. ἐπειδὴ 10 ονομαγγωνες 14 μετ'ερχομενον
 22 l. καταλημφθείην 24 ω corr. from ου in τημενω, l. κινδύνῳ

'In the consulship of our lords Severus Augustus and Maximinus most illustrious Caesar. To Aurelius Dioscorus also called Helladius, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, prytane-in-office of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Timotheus, son of Sarapiades, from the same city. Since the donkey-sellers of the same city have harassed me without justification concerning delegation of the delivery of two donkeys to the most perfect *magister rei privatae* on the ground that I am engaging in their trade, I accordingly declare, swearing by the fortune of our lords Imperatores Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most illustrious Caesars, that I have never yet practised their trade nor do I do so. And if I am convicted in future I will be subject to the divine oath and the risk to myself attaching thereto. Year 15 13 1 of our lords Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most illustrious Caesars, Pachon 14.'

4-6 This man is hitherto unattested as prytane of the bule and now fills the (Alexandrian) year 306-7, cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix 1. The post of gymnasiarch might be either previous or current.

10 The word *νομομάγωγος*, a hybrid formed from the Greek *νόμος* and the Latin *mango*, needs to be added to the lexica.

12-13 *διαχημότατος* (*perfectissimus*) is the usual rank of the *magister rei privatae*. Not much is known about this official who begins to appear after the Diocletianic reforms, see Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, pp. 88-9; N. Lewis, *JJP* 15 (1965) 157-61 = SB VIII 9883. His major duty appears to have been the supervision of the imperial estates in Egypt; we may now add the evidence of XXXIII 2665 and 2673 where a *magister rei privatae* named Neratius Apollonides, who perhaps still occupied the position at the time of the present document, is responsible for instigating investigations into property in connexion with the persecution of Christians (see also M. Chr. 196).

24 *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῷ*. The pronoun may refer to the oath, in which case the writer has conflated two formulae (*τῷ ἐπηρητημένῳ τούτῳ κινδύνῳ* P. Lips. 46. 17 f.; *τῷ περὶ τούτου ἐπηρητημένῳ κινδύνῳ* ib. 50. 17 f.). If it refers to Timotheus himself, we must take it as a lapse into the third person, or as equivalent to *ἐμαυτῷ* (Mayser, *Grammatik* 1. 1. 304).

3193. ORDER FOR PAYMENT¹

3 I B. 77/B (3)a

11.5 × 13.5 cm.

28 June A.D. 308 (?)

This papyrus, incomplete at the top and missing a portion of the left-hand side, contains two letters on the front; the back of the sheet is blank. The prescript of the first letter is lost, but it is clear that it was from Hermias, a prytane of Oxyrhynchus, to the logistes Valerius Heron also called Sarapion requesting a disbursement from the city fund. The second letter is from Valerius Heron to the banker of the city fund instructing him to make the payment.

Apart from l. 11, the text does not present any special difficulty and its reconstruction is aided by VIII 1104, a similar request from the same period. In the latter text, better readings can now be supplied for ll. 12-13 and 21 in the light of 3193: in 1104. 12-13 read *τὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν [χρημάτων] τραπεζίτην* and in 21 read *τραπεζίτης*. The relationship of the prytane to the logistes in the bureaucratic structure of the early fourth century is discussed, in the light of these texts, in *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 89-90. The prytane Hermias was previously unknown. His term of office, and hence the date of

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 9 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

the present document, can reasonably be conjectured to have been in 307-8 on the basis of the available testimony for the logistes Valerius Heron (see 12 n.).

- (m. 1) [.] . τῷ
 [φιλιτάτῳ] χαίρειν. αἰτοῦμαι ἐπὶ ταλῆναι
 ἐξοδιασθῆναι αἰ μοι εἰς λόγον τῶν διατυ-
 πωθέντων] δίδοσθαι τῇ πρυτανίᾳ
 5 κα[ὶ νῦν ἀργυρίῳ] (τάλαντα) ν, καὶ δέον ἡγοῦ-
 με εἶ[πιστε]ῖλαί με τῷ [δ] τῶν πολιτικῶν
 χ[ρημάτων] τραπεζίτη τὸν ἐξοδιασμόν μοι
 π[οιῆς]ασθαι. vac.
 ὑπατίας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), 'Επειφ δ-
 vac.
 10 (m. 2) ἐρρωσθαί με εὐχομαι, φίλτατε.
 vac.
 (m. 3) ιας vac.
 Οὐαλέριος 'Ηρων ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων λογιστῆς 'Οξ(υρρυγίτου)
 Αὐρηλίῳ 'Απολλωνίῳ πολιτικῶν χρ(ημάτων) τραπεζίτῃ.
 ἐξ]οδίασον 'Ερμίᾳ πρυτάνι ἀπὸ τῶν διατυπωθέν-
 15 των δίδοσθαι] αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἀργυρίου τάλαντ[α ν]-
 ἐρρωσθαί με εὐ[χ]ομαι. ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς, 'Επειφ [.].

3 l. πρυτανεία 5-6 l. ἡγοῦμαι 6, 13 l. πολιτικῶν 14 l. πρυτάνει

' (1st hand) to his dear colleague, greetings. I ask that instructions be given for a payment to be made now to me, to the account of the monies earmarked to be given for the presidency, of 50 talents and I think it necessary that you instruct the banker of the city funds to make the payment to me. In the abovementioned consulship, Epeiph 4.

(2nd hand) I pray for your health, my dear colleague.

(3rd hand) Valerius Heron also called Sarapion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Apollonius banker of the city funds. Make a payment now to Hermias the prytane, from the monies earmarked to be given to him, of 50 talents. I pray for your health. In the same consulship, Epeiph 6.'

1 The prescript will have contained the consular date (Diocletian X and Maximian VII, if 308 is the correct date, see note to line 12), followed by the titles of the writer and the addressee, e.g. [Αὐρήλιος 'Ερμίας . . . ἑναρχος πρύτανις τῆς 'Οξυρρυγίτων πόλεως Οὐαλερίῳ 'Ηρωνι λογιστῇ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως)]. The trace of a horizontal stroke immediately before τῷ could be the abbreviation mark in πολ- (for this form of address to the logistes see XXXIII 2666. 4-5). The prytane Hermias was previously unknown (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix 1); for the logistes Valerius Heron also called Sarapion see note to l. 12.

4 For the phrase *δίδοσθαι τῇ πρυτανίᾳ* cf. VIII 1104. 16-17.

6-7 Before the fourth century the official responsible for making such disbursements was the *ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 44-6); the *τραπεζίτης* is

attested here and in 1104 (see introduction). The erased δ in 6 suggests that the scribe began to write δημοσίω.

12 The logistes Valerius Heron also called Sarapion is not in Rees' list (*JJP* 7-8 (1953-4) 104-5), but is known from P. Lond. inv. 2226 (Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 265) and XXXIII 2666-7 to have been in office in September 308 (P. Lond. inv. 2226) and June 309 (2667). It appears from the latter document that he was the direct successor of Aurelius Seuthes also called Horion who was in office in 305 and 306 (VI 895 and VIII 1104). If the term of office of the logistes was three years, as Rees thinks probable (*loc. cit.* pp. 95-6), it seems probable that Seuthes was in office from 304 (the earliest date at which the logistes appears, cf. e.g. XXXIII 2673) until 307 and Heron from 307 until 310. On the basis of a one-year term of office for the prytanes of the boule (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61-5), 306-7, 307-8 and 309-10 are available for the date of 3193; it seems prudent to opt for the date closest to that at which Valerius Heron is attested in office, i.e. June 308; naturally 307 and 310 cannot at present be excluded.

3194. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

1 B. 211/B (m)

9.8 × 26.5 cm.

29 April A.D. 323

The undistinguished cursive hand in which this document is written presents no special problems, but in lines 10-18 the ink has faded very badly, no doubt from the way the papyrus was folded, and transcription here is hazardous and at times almost impossible. Fortunately the lines contain two identical requests, and these can be used to supplement one another.

Two comarchs of the village Sepho ask that instructions be given to the δημοσίω *τραπέζιτης* to reimburse them for *επιχάρια* and *πάλλια* supplied by them *εἰς τὸ δημοσίον*. P.Ryl. IV 660 (A.D. 338; provenance unknown) is a comparable request from a certain Aurelius Hermas, who bears no official title. Other papyri record acknowledgements by comarchs that they have been duly paid for clothing supplied to the government: B.G.U. II 620 = W. *Chrest.* 186, SB I 4421 (both c. A.D. 302, see XLII 3031 introd.), P.Cair.Isid. 54 (A.D. 314); cf. P.Ant. I 39 (A.D. 323), from a private individual, P.S.I. IV 309 (A.D. 327), from a *praepositus*, and XII 1430 (A.D. 324), also from comarchs but not relating to clothing. These texts must be examined along with the important new readings by Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 69-75, and Rémondon, *Rev. phil.* 32 (1958) 244-60. The clothing requisitioned from the village was no doubt required by the soldiers. On the *vestis militaris* in the early fourth century see XVI 1905, 3-6 n., MacMullen, *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 189-91, and the introductions to P.Oslo III 119, P.Ant. I 40, and P.Cair.Isid. 54. The sum claimed in the present papyrus works out at 4,000 drachmas per *επιχάριον* and 5,000 drachmas per *πάλλιον*. This is the same price as was allowed ten years before in P.Cair.Isid. 54 (cf. also P.Cair.Isid. 72) and even earlier in B.G.U. 620. The price for *επιχάρια* corresponds to that fixed for *ετίχαι* of the poorest quality in A.D. 301 (*Edict. Diocl. de pret.* 26. 28 ff.). By this date it was hopelessly inadequate, yet even so it was subject to a deduction of 6.5 per cent. See the full study by Rémondon, *loc. cit.*

The request is not signed (contrast P.Ryl. 660) and so was presumably a copy kept

by the comarchs. The jottings on the back, in a related but almost certainly different hand, have no apparent connexion.

→ τοῖς ἀποδελχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ'.

Εὐδαίμονι

παρὰ Ἀπολλῶ Ψόιτος καὶ Διονῦτος

Ψεναμούνιος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρ-

5 χῶν κώμης Σεφῶ ζ' πάγου τοῦ

ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους. αἰτούμεθα

ἐπισταλῆναι ἐξοδιασθῆναι ἡμῶν

ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὧν παρέσχамεν εἰς τὸ

δημόσιον ἰ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) στιχ(αρίων) ἐρεῶν

10 5 (ταλ.) δ <ὦν> (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) Ἀφξ τὰ λοι(πὰ) (ταλ.) γ

(δρ.) Ἀνμ,

πα[λλ(ίων)] β' (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀ ὦν (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) χν τὰ λοι(πὰ)

(ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἰτν, ἐνάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος) στιχ(αρίων) ἐρε-

ῶν 5 (ταλ.) δ <ὦν> (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) Ἀφξ τὰ λοι(πὰ) (ταλ.) γ

(δρ.) Ἀνμ,

π[α]λλ(ίων) β (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀ ὦν (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) χν τὰ λοι(πὰ)

15 [(ταλ.) α] (δρ.) Ἰτν, (γίνεται) . . . (ταλ.) ι (δρ.) Ἰφπ, καὶ ἀξι-

[οὔ]μεν ἐπιστῆλῃ εἰς τῷ δημοσίῳ τρα(πέζιτη)

[τὸ]ν ἐξοδιασμὸν ἡμῶν ποιήσασθαι.

[ὑπ]ατείρας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Παχῶν δ'.

Back

↓ (m. 2) Παντώννμ[ο]c

20 Τοτοῆς

πλοῖον Ἡρακλίου

ἄλλο Λευκαδίου

Διογένους κυβερνήτης

Παρίων κυβερνήτης χορηγόν

25 Ἀφούς κυβερνήτης απ. τεμγε . . .

1 l. ἀποδελχθησομένοις 3 Through the horizontal of ε in Ψόιτος a descender curving to left 16 l. ἐπιστῆλαι

Under the consuls to be declared for the 3rd time.

To Eudaemon

From Apollo son of Psois and Dionys son of Psenamunis, both comarchs of the village Sepho

of the 7th *pagus* in the current year. We request that instructions be given for us to be paid for the price of articles we supplied to the treasury:

In the 10th indiction

For 6 woollen tunics	4 tal.	
Less <6½> %		1560 dr.
Remainder		3 tal. 4440 dr.
For 2 cloaks	1 tal. 4000 dr.	
Less <6½> %		650 dr.
Remainder		1 tal. 3350 dr.

In the ninth indiction

For 6 woollen tunics	4 tal.	
Less <6½> %		1560 dr.
Remainder		3 tal. 4440 dr.
For 2 cloaks	1 tal. 4000 dr.	
Less <6½> %		650 dr.
Remainder		1 tal. 3350 dr.

Total amounting to 10 tal. 3580 dr.

and we ask you to give instructions to the public banker to make us payment.

In the aforementioned consulship, Pachon 4th.'

1 On the dating formula see P. Herm. Rees 18. 2 n.; ZPE 10 (1973) 121-4.

2 *Εὐδαίμων*: the rest of the line is blank. The addressee of P. Ryl. 660 is lost. B.G.U. 620, P. Cair. Isid. 54, 1430 and P.S.I. 309 are all reports to the strategus that payment has been made *ἐξ ἐπιστάλματος σου*, thereby indicating that applications of this kind would be made to the strategus. P. Ant. 39 is a similar report to [...], *διαδεχομένην ἑξακτορ(εἰαν) Ἀντινοῦτου*. Eudaemon should therefore be strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, more correctly called *exactor* at this date (see Thomas, *Chr. d'Ég.* 35 (1960) 262-70), and it is tempting to suppose that the comarchs left a blank after his name because of their uncertainty as to which of these titles to give him. The strategus in A.D. 316 was *Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων* (XVII 2113-14), but if our Eudaemon is the same man he must have been in office an inordinately long time (cf. Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 267). There is a further difficulty in that the strategus by Mesore 24, A.D. 323 was Hermias (I 60. 1 = W. *Chrest.* 43), which would imply a changeover before the expected date of Thoth 1st. It is not impossible that Eudaemon was a *praepositus pagi*.

5 *Σεφὼς ὁ πάγος*: formerly in the *Θμοισεφῶ* toparchy, e.g. XXIV 2422. 78.

8-9 *εἰς τὸ δημόσιον*: included also 1430. 13 and P.S.I. 309. 7-8.

9 *ἰνδρικ(τίωνος)*: cf. *ἐνάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος)* in l. 12. Not only was the government grossly underpaying the villagers, it was only now paying out for clothing supplied in A.D. 320/1 and 321/2. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 54, payment for A.D. 310/11 acknowledged in January A.D. 314, and P. Ant. 39, payment for A.D. 321/2 acknowledged in February A.D. 323.

10 <ὦν> (*ἐκατοσταί*): sc. *εἰς*; here and in l. 13 the papyrus has only *ρ*. Insertion of *ὦν*, as in 11 and 14, seems the minimum necessary to make the sum intelligible and gives a parallel expression to 1430. 15 and P.S.I. 309. 11-13. The other documents have a much fuller statement, e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 54. 12 ff. (ταλ.) κα (δρ.) 'B, ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογοῦνται ὑπὲρ (ἐκατοστῶν) 5 (ἡμισυ) (ταλ.) α (δρ.) 'Bρς, τὰ λοιπὰ (ταλ.) ιθ (δρ.) 'Εωι πλήρη[η]. For (*ἐκατοσταί*) as the correct resolution of *ρ* in all the relevant papyri, not *ρ(οπής)*, see the articles by Youtie and Rémondon cited in the introduction. A deduction of 6.5 per cent is also found in P. Col. II 1 recto 4. x. 18, B.G.U. VII 1564. 9 and III 697.19 (= W. *Chrest.* 321) (all second century A.D.).

12-13 *ἐρεῶν*: the papyrus has *ερῆων*, as though the scribe intended to abbreviate at the end of l. 12 but forgot this when beginning l. 13.

15 (*γίνεται*)... (ταλ.) ι (δρ.) 'Iφπ: a diagonal stroke followed by what resembles a figure eight, then barely distinguishable traces. The whole must have marked a total, probably to be read (*γίνεται*) ὁμοῦ, cf. 1430. 17.

16 This is the worst affected line in the papyrus and the reading is no more than consistent with the traces. For the construction, cf. I 55. 14 ff. *ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιστεῖλέαι τῷ ταμίᾳ τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων τὸν ἐξοδιασμὸν ἡμεῖν ποιήσασθαι*.

τῷ δημ(οσίῳ) τρα(πεζίτη): normally two at Oxyrhynchus, see XXXIII 2664. 11 n. Payment by one only is mentioned in 1430. 9, P.S.I. 309. 4 and P. Ryl. 660. 6.

22 ἄλλο Λευκαδίου: VII 1048. 15 mentions *Λευκαδίου πλ(οῖον) ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦς Εὐδαίμωνος*, but is put late fourth/early fifth century by the editors.

24 *Παρίων κυβερνήτης* χορηγόν: sc. *πλοῖον*. XXIV 2415 (late third century) has two references (31-2 and 60-1) to *χορηγὸν ὑπὸ Παρίονα Σερήνου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρνήχινου*. The name is not common and this may well be the same man.

25 *απ. τεμμε...*: ἀπό is possible, in which case a place name should follow. A *λαύρα* at Oxyrhynchus was called *Τεμμενοῦθις*, but it is very difficult to read ἀπὸ *Τεμμενοῦ(θεως)*. The writing is very cursive and could be read differently, e.g. *απ. ταμνομ...* *Τεμπεμόν* is just possible. Cf. e.g. 3170. 11 n., 102 n.

3195. REPORTS TO A LOGISTES

4 1B. 68/C (a)

18.5 × 24 cm.

13-14 (?) June A.D. 331

These two reports were no doubt part of a much larger *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* kept in the bureau of the *logistes*, on the pattern of I 53, VI 896, 983 (= SB III 6003), all A.D. 316 and part of the same roll, and XXXI 2570 (A.D. 329). The entries in 3195 may well have been numbered at the top, but the papyrus is now too badly frayed for any trace of this to survive. The back is blank.

The first column is rather badly mutilated and this, combined with the writer's uncertain command of the Greek language (which matches his shaky handwriting), leaves some of the details obscure. This much, however, is clear: the *logistes*, acting in response to a petition, has instructed the monthly presidents of the *οἰκοδόμοι* to inspect certain property in Oxyrhynchus and report back to him on its condition; their report is what we have here preserved. Doubtless the petitioner, who has recently come into possession, or re-possession (11 *ἀποτοθεῖεν*), of the property, alleged that foul play had taken place, and this may have concerned the blocking up of certain entrances or windows (see 17 n. and 18/19 n.). Similar reports are P.S.I. V 456 (A.D. 276-82; Oxyrhynchus; addressed to the strategus) and P. Med. I 41 (= SB VI 9442) (fifth century; provenance and addressee unknown); cf. Kupiszewski, *JJP* VI (1952) 266-7, also B.G.U. VIII 1859 and SPP XX 58 II. A document of A.D. 328, XLIII 3126, contains a petition to the *logistes* *ἀξιῶν ἐπισταλῆναι τοὺς τῶν οἰκοδόμων μνηάρχας ἵν' εἰδῶσι*. They are to assist in the *διαίρεσις* of a house.

The second report belongs to a type well represented in the papyri; four *δημόσιοι ἱατροί* send in a detailed account of the injuries sustained by a certain Aurelius Paesius. On these reports see XXXI 2563. 27-8 n., Nanetti, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 301-14, Boswinkel,

Symb. Taubenschlag 1 = *Eos* 48 (1956) 181-90. The *logistes* was the regular recipient in the fourth century. It is noteworthy that in the present papyrus he is addressed along with the *defensor*. The only other example of a medical report being sent to a *defensor* is P. Cair. Preis. 7 (late fourth century; Hermopolis); cf. XVI 1885 (A.D. 509). For other examples of the *logistes* and *defensor* acting together see P.S.I. VII 767 (A.D. 331 or 332, cf. 3 n. below) and XII 1426 (A.D. 332).

I am indebted to Professor Youtie for some suggestions.

Col. i

→ [ὑπατε]ίας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου Ἀβλαβίου
[τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) ἐπαρχῶν Παῦνι [.].
Φ[λα]ουίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ λογ[ι]στῇ Ὁξυρυνχίτου)
[πα]ρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πανάρου Ἡ.ωνήτου καὶ Ἡ-
5 [. . .]ηρου Μούρου ἀμφοτέ[ρ]ων ἀπὸ τῆς [λ]αμπ(ρᾶς)
[καὶ λα]μπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυνχιδῶν) πόλεως μηνειάρχων οἰκοδό-
μων. ἐπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐκ βιβλιδίων
ἐπιτοθέντων σοὶ ὑπὸ Δίου Θεωρας ὥ-
στε παρακενέσθαι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ π[ό]λι ἐπ[ὶ] ἀμφο-
10 του Τρόμου Θεόριος καὶ ἐπιθεωρήσιν αὐλήν
ἀποδοθεῖσιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Διδώμης Τίτο[υ]
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως οὖσαν ἐκ βορᾶ οἰκατι-
κῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῆς Διδώμης καὶ η.ν κα-
ταλάβωμεν [. . .]εσεν ἐνγράφως σοὶ
15 προσφωνήσιν. ὅ[θ]εν ἐκίσε καινόμενοι
ἐπεθεωρήσαμεν [. . .] ἐκ βορᾶ οὖς. [. α]ὐλῆς
οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῆς [Διδύ]μ[η]ς . . υριτ[. . .]εν βορᾶ
τώχου οἰκίας [τῆς α]ὐτῆς Διδύμης ἐλευθέ-
ρας οὖσας [.]νοπ[. . .] βόρην
20 πλευρᾶς [.] αὐλῆς [. .]νο[ικ]οδομη-
θην. διὸ π[ρο]σφωνοῦμεν.
(m. 2) Αὐρήλιον [. . .]
9. . [. . .]

Col. ii

(m. 3) ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Β[ά]σσου καὶ Φλαουίου
25 Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) [. . .]
Φλαουίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ λογιστῇ καὶ

Κλαυδίῳ Ἑρμείᾳ ἐκδίκῳ Ὁξ(υρυνχίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θεωνίου καὶ
Ἡρωος καὶ Κυλλανίου καὶ Διδύμου
30 δημοσίων ἱατρῶν τῇ[ς] λαμπ[ρᾶς]
καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυνχιδῶν) πόλεως. ἐπεστάλημεν
ὑπ[ὸ] τῆς ὑμῶν ἐμμελείας ἐκ βι-
βλιδίων ἐπιδοθέντων ὑπ[ὸ]
Αὐρηλίου Παησίου Σενοούφις
35 ἀπὸ κώμης Πέλα ὥστε ἐφιδεῖν
τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεσιν καὶ
ἐνγράφως προσφωνῆσαι. ὅ[θ]εν
τοῦτον ἐφίδαμεν ἐπὶ γρ[αβ]άτου
ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ λογιστηρίῳ
40 ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μ[έ]ρους
τῆς κορυφῆς τραύμα[τ]α . .
ο. [. . .] τ[. . .] [. . .] α. . . . ὑμένος
κ[α]ὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρ[ο]ς τοῦ
μετώπου οἶδημα κ[α]ὶ ἐ[π]ὶ [τοῦ]
45 π[ή]χους τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρ[ὸ]ς
πελίωμα μετὰ ἀμοιχῆς καὶ ἐπ[ὶ]
τοῦ π[ή]χους τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρ[ὸ]ς
π[ε]λιωμάτων, ἅπερ προσφων[οῦ]-
μεν.
50 ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Παῦνι κ.
(m. 4) [Αὐ]ρήλιος Θεωνίος προσεφώνησα ὡς πρόκειται.
(m. 5) [Αὐ]ρήλιος Ἡρων προσεφώνησα ὡς πρόκειται.
(m. 6) [Αὐ]ρήλιος Κυλλανὸς προσεφώνησα ὡς πρόκειται.

1 Ἰουνίου 1. Ἰουνίου φλαουίου 3 Ἰουλιανῷ 6 l. μηνειάρχων 7 η of ἐπεστάλημεν
corrected, l. ἐπεστάλημεν, ὑπο 8 l. ἐπιδοθέντων, ὑπο 9 l. παρακενέσθαι, πόλει 9-10 l. ἀμφοδόν
Δρόμου 10 l. ἐπιθεωρήσιν, ω corrected 11 l. ἀποδοθεῖσιν αὐτῷ, ὑπο, l. Διδύμης, so l. 13
12-13 l. οἰκητικῆς 14 c of εσεν corrected from ι 15 l. προσφωνήσιν, ἐκίσε γενόμενοι
16 c of αὐλῆς corrected, see note 18 l. τοίχου 19 l. βορινῆς 21 see note 30 ἱατρῶν
32 ὑμῶν 34 l. Σενοούφις 35 ἐφιδεῖ 42 ὑμενος 45 l. π[ή]χυος, χειρός, so l. 47
46 l. ἀμυχῆς 51 l. πρόκειται, so l. 53

'In the consulship of Junius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the most illustrious prefects, Payni . .
To Flavius Julianus *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite from Aurelius Panares, son of He. onetus, and
Heracleos (?), son of Murus, both from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhyn-
chites, monthly presidents of the builders.

We were instructed by you in response to a petition delivered to you by Dius, son of Theora (?), to proceed to the Thoiris Street quarter in the said city and inspect a courtyard handed over to him by Didyme, daughter of Titus, from the said city, situated at the north of a dwelling house of the said Didyme, and to make you a report in writing of the condition in which we found it. Accordingly we proceeded there and we found that of the courtyard to the north of the house of the said Didyme the window-openings (?) in the north wall of the house of the said Didyme were open, [but] of the north side of the said (?) courtyard were blocked up. Wherefore we submit our report.¹

[Signatures.]

'In the consulship of Junius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the most illustrious.

To Flavius Julianus *curator* and Claudius Hermias *defensor* of the Oxyrhynchite from Aurelii Theoninus and Heron and Silvanus and Didymus, public doctors of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites.

We were instructed by your Diligences in response to a petition handed in by Aurelius Paesius, son of Senenuphis, of the village Pela, to examine his condition and make a written report. Wherefore we examined the man on a bunk in the public office building; he had gashes on the right side of his head of the membrane and a swelling on the right side of his forehead and a contusion with a skin wound on his left forearm and a slight contusion on the right forearm. Wherefore we make our report.¹

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Theoninus, have made my report as aforesaid.'

(5th hand) 'I, Aurelius Heron, have made my report as aforesaid.'

(6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Silvanus, have made my report as aforesaid.'

1 *Ἰουνέου Βάσσου*: Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, and Degraffi, *I Fasti Consolari*, give Bassus' gentile name as Julius (no doubt based on P. Lond. III 978. 18 (p. 233), but see *Berichtigungsliste* I); but the combined evidence of VI 990, P. Strasb. I 43. 26 and III 129. 15, and P. Bad. II 28. 1 (Youtie adds P. Colon. inv. 1699) proves that Junius is correct.

Παῶν [.] : if the second report is correctly dated Payni 20 (see 50 n.) the reading here might be [.]θ.

3 *Φ[λα]ουίω Ἰουλιανῶ λογ[ι]στῇ*: not in the list given by Rees, *JJP* vii/viii (1953/4) 104 f., but subsequently attested by XXXI 2570, which shows that he had been in office since at least 27 October A.D. 329. P.S.I. VII 767 proves that by November 331, or at the latest by January 332 (for the doubt about the date see the editor's note), he had been replaced by Flavius Hermias. In P.S.I. 767. 28 we should no doubt restore *Ἰουλιανῶ ἀπ[ὸ] λογιστῶν*. Almost certainly he is to be identified with the Flavius Julianus who is acting *defensor* in A.D. 336 (VI 901 = M. *Chrest.* 70); cf. also perhaps P.S.I. V 467 (A.D. 360) and P. Ross. Georg. V 28 (fourth century; undated).

4 *Ἡ.ωνητου*: eta is certain, *ωνητου* almost so; between them either one or two letters. No such name is known to me.

4-5 *Ἡ[...].ηου*: *Ἡ[ρακλ]ήου*?

5 *Μούρου*: found at P. New York 16. 4.

6-7 *μηνειάρχων οἰκοδόμων*: also in P.S.I. V 456.¹ *μηνιάρχαι* of other trades occur in I 53, 84, VIII 1139, XXXI 2579, P. Harr. 73 (all Oxyrhynchus), O. Bodl. II 1986; *μηνιαρχία* in SB VI 9409 (3). 121 and 145. On the guild of *οἰκοδόμοι* (perhaps masons rather than builders) at this period see Zucker, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II 339-43; and on guilds in general and their subordination to the *logistes* see San Nicolò, *Vereinswesen* II 55, 64 ff., and Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 151 ff.

Δίου: palaeographically the reading appears to be *Clou*, which does not look promising as a name. The reading must be considered in conjunction with that at the start of l. 21, where the obvious reading is *θηγησο*, which leads nowhere, whereas if we read the last three letters as *διό* this at any rate makes sense. In general the writer's delta is a distinct letter in no way like his sigma, but in *βιβλιδίω* in l. 7 the broken delta does seem to be made very like a sigma. It was of course common in certain hands, e.g. the third hand of the present text, to find delta written like sigma. Therefore, though with some hesitation, I propose to read delta in each of the three instances just quoted. The alternative, which Youtie suggests to me, is to suppose that the writer put *α* for *δι*

¹ And XLIII 3126.

because he pronounced the syllable that way; there is some evidence for *Δ* being used in Coptic transcriptions for Greek *ε* or *ζ*: Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, sub *Δ*, quotes *συμπόειον* > *CYMPIOION* and *τοπάζιον* > *ΤΩΠΑΙΟΝ*. This would certainly fit in with the eccentric spelling which the present writer employs.

Θεωρας: *Θέωρος* is found at *Archiv* v 158. 6, but *Θεωρα* is unknown. An error for *Θε<οδ>ώρας*? But it would be strange to have a feminine name.

10 *αὐλήν*: the word gives good sense in view of the sequel, but the reading is precarious and will just about fit the slight traces remaining.

11 *ἀποτοθεῖεν*: apparently not a precise legal term, so that it is uncertain whether Dius received the property through deed of gift or through purchase (for *ἀποδίδοσθαι* meaning 'sold' see LSJ s.v. 111), or whether, for example, he was taking repossession of it after it had been leased to Didyme.

Διδώμης: a remarkable variant for *Διδύμης*, which the writer spells correctly in l. 18; cf. below, 18 n., on *τόχου*.

Τ[τρ][υ]: iota very doubtful.

12-13 *οἰκατικῆς*: an *οἰκία οἰκητικῆ* is found in P. Ross. Georg. III 38. 15 and other late Byzantine texts. No doubt what we have here is merely another strange spelling variant, perhaps via *οἰκετικῆ*: an *οἰκία οἰκετικῆ* occurs in P.S.I. IX 1040. 23 (though the editors, followed by LSJ, suppose it to be different from an *οἰκία οἰκητικῆ*).

13-14 *ἡν καταλάβωμεν* [.] *ἔσεν*: the writer should have put *ἦν ἐὰν καταλάβωμεθα διάθεσιν*, as, e.g., I 51. 10 f., and, in a parallel context, P.S.I. V 456. 9. He may well have conflated *ἦν ἐάν* into *ἦαν*, the trace after *καταλάβωμεν* would suit *δ*, and *διάθεσιν* for *διάθεσιν* need cause us no surprise in this text; the difficulty is that before *ἔσεν* there is a long descender. Did he put *δ[ια]ρῆσεν* by mistake?

16 [.] *ἐκ βορᾶ οὐς* [.] *αὐλής*: at the end sigma would seem to be a correction from nu, but vice versa is equally possible. The slight trace after *οὐς* suits eta rather than alpha, which points to the reading *[τῆς] ἐκ βορᾶ οὐς[ε] αὐλής*. *οἰκίας* is certainly genitive. *αὐλής* should be dependent on a noun in the feminine plural with which *ἐλευθέρας οὐσας* can agree.

17 *υρητ[ε]* *εν*: *υρ* is a good reading, *ιτ* much less so (but *εὔρομεν* is impossible); at the start one letter only, a large theta, is just possible, pointing to the reading *θυρίτα[ς]* (l. *θυρίδας*). There is barely room for *μ* *έν* after this; perhaps we should read *ἐν βορᾶ τόχου*, assuming genitive for dative, but *βορᾶ* is hard to construe.

18-19 *ἐλευθέρας οὐσας*: in relation to property *ἐλεύθερος* can mean 'not given in pledge', cf. *SIG* I 364. 35 (Ephesus; second century B.C.) *εἰ δέ τινες ὑποθέ[ν]τες ἄλλοις κτήματα δεδανεισμένοι εἰς μὲν παρ' ἐτέρων ὥς ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις τ[οῖς] κ[τήματι]ν*; similarly SB VIII 10075. 70 (Cyrene; fourth century B.C.). But to determine this would not require an on-the-spot inspection by builders. I therefore prefer Youtie's suggestion that *ἐλεύθερος* means 'unblocked', 'free from obstruction', cf. LSJ s.v. 1. 2, and is contrasted with other openings mentioned below which are blocked up. This interpretation suits the reading *θυρίτα[ς]* in l. 17. A *θυρίς* is *πεφρεγμένη πλίνθοις* in I 69. 1.

18 *τόχου*: *τοίχου* > *τόχου* > *τόχου*, the first change being correct, the second surprising.

19 [.] *υρητ[ε]* *εν* [.] : just possible, but extremely precarious, is the reading *θ[υρί]τας* *ἐν* *πύρ[ω]* *τῆς* 'the window-openings facing the north side', but there would seem to be no room for *δέ*. In P. Cair. Zen. V 847 *θυρίδας τὰς ἐν τοῖς παροδίοις τοίχοις οὐσας* are contrasted with *τὰς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν βλεπούσας*.

20 *πλευρᾶς*: the meaning 'side of a building' is not in *Wörterbuch*, but see P. Osl. III 111. 225 *ἀπ[ὸ] (ὑπὸ)ν πλευρᾶς [οἰ]κίας πατρικῆς*, and XXXVI 2767. 31; cf. also the passages cited in P. Petr. III 48. 16 n.

[.] *αὐλής*: supply *[τῆς αὐτῆς] αὐλής*?

20-1 [.] *υ[ο]δομηθην*: for the reading *διό* after this see l. 8 n. If we are right in looking for a word meaning 'blocked up' there are two equally possible verbs: *ἀνοικοδομέω*, see LSJ s.v. 1. 2, and *ἐνοικοδομέω*, see P. Petr. II 12 (1). 12 (= W. *Chrest.* 449) *ἐνοικοδομηκότας τὰς θύρας τῶν οἰκῶν*. We should expect a participial form to balance *οὐσας*, but perhaps what the writer was aiming at was *-οικοδομηθῆναι*.

27 *Κλαυδίω Ἐρμεία ἐκδίκω*: this is the earliest appearance to date of the *defensor civitatis* in Egypt; previously the first examples were in XII 1426, XLIII 3127, both A.D. 332, and P.S.I. VII 767,

for the date see above, 3 n. In all three texts, but never elsewhere, the *defensor* acts in conjunction with the *curator*. By the date of P.S.I. 767 the acting *defensor* at Oxyrhynchus is Achillion. On the office see Rees, *JJP* 6 (1952) 73 ff., and J. Lallemant, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte*, 114-18.

In XVII 2110. 2 (A.D. 370) there occurs *πρυτανίας Κλαυδίου Ἑρμείου*, but the interval of time is considerable. A Hermias was *exactor* at Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 323-4 (I 60, XII 1430), but he may well be Flavius Hermias who was *curator* in A.D. 332 (1426, 3127, P.S.I. 767) and *defensor* in A.D. 336 (SB III 6294).

28 ff. This is the first time that four public doctors have appeared simultaneously at Oxyrhynchus, though in I 52 (A.D. 325), where Didymus and Silvanus reappear, the lacuna in l. 4 would allow two more names to be supplied. Heron and Didymus had been in practice since at least A.D. 316, see VI 896 ii.

33 There is no room for the expected *ὑμῖν*.

34 *Γενενοῦφης*: it is odd that Paesius should be identified by his mother's name.

39 *τῷ δημοσίῳ λογιετηρίῳ*: is it relevant that this is frequently a place of detention, cf. P. Beatty Panop. I. 228 n.?

41 f. The papyrus was folded along l. 42 and has mostly frayed away. The first two letters are clear but very cursively written; they might be read *οξ*, *οι*, *ει*, or even *πι*. If *οι* is right, it might just be possible to read *τρανύματ[α μετ'] οἱ[δ]ήμ[ατος]*, cf. SB III 6003. 11 *πλήγμα μετ' οἱδ[ήματος]*.

42 *ὑμένος*: new to the papyri. The word is used of various membranes by the medical writers (see LSJ), especially of the one surrounding the brain (Arist. *HA* 494 b 29), which seems to be the membrane meant in the present papyrus. The injuries have every appearance of being serious. Before it *τῶ* is perhaps to be read.

45 *πήχοιος*: presumably < *πήχυος*, but the classical form of the genitive is *πήχεως*. Alternatively, Youtie has pointed out to me that the odd vowel change *ε* > *οι* occurs in P. Wisc. 8. 27 (A.D. 561) *οἰνίκιον* = *ἐνοίκιον*; also in P. Princ. II 103. 2 (fifth century) *ἀντεφώνη[ε]ν με* is for *ἀντεφώνηέν μοι*.

46 *ἀμοιχης*: the only other papyrological occurrence is in I 52. 15 f. *ἔχουσαν κατὰ τῶν εἰσχίων ἀμυχάς*.

48 *πελιωμάτιον*: the diminutive is new.

50 *Παῦν κ*: there is a trace of ink after *κ*, but it does not look like part of another numeral.

53 After this line there is no trace of a fourth signature.

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3196. HOROSCOPE

P. Oxy. A. 9 B4/11 L

11.5 × 20.0 cm.

A.D. 58 or later

The papyrus is complete except for a strip from the lower left-hand side and contains on the front a horoscope cast for Tybi 16-17 of the fourth year of Nero. The astrological information can be checked against the tables of B. Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar and Solar Positions A.D. 2-A.D. 1649* (1964) for the appropriate date, 11-12 January A.D. 58; the data are all correct except for the position of Venus which is stated to be in Aquarius but has by this time moved into Capricorn. The back of the papyrus is blank.

→ (ἔτους) δ Νέρωνος, Τυβ(ι) ις εἰς ιζ
 ὥρας ἔ νυκτός.
 Κρόνος ἐν Ταύρωι.
 vac.
 Ζεὺς Καρκίνωι.
 5 ἥλιος Ἑρμῆς Cελήνῃ
 ἐν Αἰγόκερωι.
 Ἄρης ἐν Ζυγῶι.
 Α]φροδ(ίτη) Ὑδροχῶι.
 Ὠροσκοπεῖ Παρθένωι.

'Year 4 of Nero, Tybi 16 to 17, the fifth hour of the night. Saturn in Taurus. Jupiter in Cancer. Sun, Mercury, Moon in Capricorn. Mars in Libra. Venus in Aquarius. The Horoscope in Virgo.'

3197. DIVISION OF SLAVES

23 3B. 8/G(8) and (9)

40 × 32.5 cm.

20 October A.D. 111

This large papyrus is virtually complete, but its surface is in several places badly rubbed and abraded.¹ That so much of it is legible is a tribute to the skill of Mr W. E. H. Cockle. Down to l. 19 it is written in a competent professional cursive. The text as a

¹ Note on the ink by E.G.T. 'Close inspection shows that the surface of the papyrus is intact except where the ink has eaten it away. The ink is therefore of mordant type, not composed of carbon, as is normal at this period. This is the earliest dated example of use of a mordant ink. It is quite possible that this text was written in Alexandria.'

whole is neatly laid out with generous margins on all sides, five to six centimetres at top, right, and left, at least ten centimetres at the foot. The back is blank.

The papyrus contains a contract for the dividing up of slaves belonging to the estate of the deceased Tiberius Julius Theon (= Theon I) between his two sons Tiberius Julius Theon (= Theon II) and Tiberius Julius Sarapion, and his grandson Tiberius Julius Theon (= Theon III), who is no doubt receiving the portion of his deceased father. The division is made equally and by lot (17 $\phi\nu$ [ἐ]λαχεν). The contract contains no prescript, *βεβαίωσις*, or penalty-clause; it was doubtless a private agreement, drawn up for the parties by one of their slave notaries. On divisions of property see H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* (1919), 77 ff.; and for lists of papyrological examples A. Calderini, *Stud. Arangio-Ruiz* III, 277-9 (up to 1953); O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* 208-9; add P. Brux. Inv. E 7198, W. van Rengen, *CE* 48 (1973) 311 ff.

The number of slaves involved cannot be determined with certainty. Many have some distinguishing feature noted (trade, name of mother, present whereabouts, etc.), but this is not always so, and in some cases one cannot be sure whether a word is a name or a description, e.g. *σειμόν* (7), *μακρόν* (11). A possible indication is the writer's punctuation, since he normally leaves a gap between different names, but not between the name of a slave and his description. There is also the need to afford some method of distinguishing slaves of the same name. On this basis I think it probable that each party is receiving fifteen slaves; in addition Theon II and Sarapion already had five slaves, Theon III, apparently, only four (but the reading in l. 16 is precarious). This gives a total of fifty-nine; but the number may have been nearer seventy. Nor is this all: every one of the slaves now being divided up is male, yet such a large establishment will have contained many females. Note too that ll. 17-18 speak of joint ownership for the present of [τῶν λ]οιπῶν ἀδιαρ[ε]τ[ων] *σωμάτων*. We shall hardly be in error, I think, if we suppose Theon I to have owned at least a hundred slaves. This figure is astonishingly high for Roman Egypt. Mrs Biezuńska-Matowist, *JJP* 15 (1965) 70, remarks 'rares sont les documents... où on pourrait trouver chez le même propriétaire plus qu'un ou deux esclaves'; and the highest numbers I have noticed are eighteen in P. Mich. V 326 (A.D. 48) and a fourth share of six in P. Flor. I 50. 94-6 (A.D. 268). The slaves in 3197 have a variety of occupations: five *νοτάριοι* (short-hand writers?—certainly not officials, the only meaning listed in *Wörterbuch*), two amanuenses, a scribe, a repairer, a cook, and a barber.

The Tiberii Julii were Roman citizens and Alexandrian notables, who between them had held the posts of hypomnematographus, archidicastes, strategus of the city, and gymnasiarch of Alexandria. The provenance of 3197 as well as the place name Cercethyris in l. 14 (cf. 7 n. on *Βερκύ*) proves that they had estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome; and the presence of a slave in the Arsinoite (11) (if the reading is right) and another ἀπὸ *Κουσσῶν* (15) suggests property in the Fayum and the Hermopolite also. On large estates in the Roman period cf. Tomsin, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II 211 ff., and P. Mich. IX 599 introd. Possible references to the family of the Tiberii Julii are discussed in the notes. It must be stressed that identifications are particularly hazardous as the Alexandrine

nobility was especially fond of the name Theon: see Bell, P. Jews 1912. 17 n., and H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 102-4, who lists no less than eighteen such bearers of the name (not necessarily all different) from the first two centuries of Roman rule.

- ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τ[ῆς] πόλεως
καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς καὶ
Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων ἀδελφὸς καὶ Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων ἀδελφιδοῦς τῶν
ιερονικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν διειρηθῆναι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῶν καταλειμμένων ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Θέωνος γενομένου
ὑπομνηματογράφου καὶ γυμνα-
σιάρχου πατρὸς μὲν Θέωνος ἀρχιδικαστοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος πάππου δὲ Θέω[νος]
ιερονίκου δουλικῶν *σωμάτων*
5 τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα, καὶ ἐπιβεβληκῆναι Τιβερίῳ [Ἰ]ουλίῳ Θέωνι τῷ γενομένῳ
στρατηγῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
ἀρχιδικαστῇ Ἡρώνα γραμματέα Ἐπάγαθον . . . μ. τρην Ἀ[. . .] . . . ὄν
πρότερον Διογένους Θέωνος Βακχίου
Τερπνὸν [. . .] . . ὄν Ἡρακλᾶν προχειροφόρον Διογᾶν Ἀ[. . .] ὤλεαν *σειμόν* Ἡρακ-
λειδίωνα Κορήλιον τὸν ἐν Βερκύ
Ἐπιτυχάν[ο]ντα Ἡλεῖν Ἀμμωνᾶν νοτᾶριον Γέμελλον Εὐπορᾶν ἀδελφὸν
Εὐκαῖρον ἀδελφὸν καὶ οὐς προεῖχεν
ἐτι τοῦ πατρὸς περιόντος Κάρπον καὶ Ἀνδροθένην καὶ Ἀγαθάγγελον Ἀβάς-
καντον Ἀφροδειτοῦν, Ἰουλίῳ δὲ
10 Σαραπίωνι ἀδελφῷ Δεμᾶν προχειροφόρον Τελεσφόρ[ο]ν ἡγητὴν Ὠριμον Τρόφωνα
Διογέ[η] μᾶγιρον Ἐπαφρῶν
μακρόν Κ[ό]ρινθον Δημήτριον Λάκωνα Ἑρμ[.] τὸν] ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ
Ἐπαφρῶν νοτᾶριον Ἀγαθῶν
νοτᾶριον Ε[ὐ]πορον Εὐτραπέλου Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀναβάσεως καὶ οὐς προεῖχεν τοῦ
πατρὸς περιόντος Δημητράν Κατίλλιον
[Ε]πιτυχὴν Ἀ[ν]δροθένην Ἀνάβασιν, καὶ [Ι]ουλίῳ Θέωνι ιερνίκῃ Σαραπᾶν
νοτᾶριον Ἀβασκαντίωνα Αἰθίοπ(α)
[Τ]ελεσφόρον Ἀβάσκαντον τὸν ἐν Κερκεθ[ύ]ρῃ Γέμιον κουρέα Ἀγαθήμερον
Πρακτικὸν Ἀρποκράν Ἀγαθάγγελον
15 [Ἐ]παφρῶν . . ὄν Εὐκαῖρον νοτᾶριον Ἀλέξανδρον Γεμέλλης Ἀγαθόποδα ἀπὸ
Κουσσῶν Δημήτριον ἀπὸ τῆς Κάτω το-
παρχίας [. . . .] . ν καὶ οὐς προεῖχ[εν] ἐτι τ[οῦ] πατρ[ὸς] περιόν[τος] οδ. ι-
μον[.] Σαραπᾶν Αἰδύμ[ο]ν . . ιαπ. ν, ἕκας-

[τον δὲ ἡμῶν κυρί] ἐβύειν ὧν [ἐ]λαχεν [καὶ] διοικε[ῖ]ν περὶ αὐτῶν ὃ ἐὰν αἰρήται
κοιρῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος

[τῶν λ]οιπῶν ἀδιαίρε[τ]ων σωμαίων. ἔτους πεντεκαϊδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Νέρωνα Τραϊανοῦ

[Cεβας] τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶφι κβ.

20 (m. 2) Τ[ι]βέριος Ἰ[ο]ύλιος Σαραπίων εὐδοκῶ τῇ τῶν δούλων διαιρέσει ὡς
πρόκειται.

(m. 3) Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀρχιδικασ-
τῆς εὐδοκῶ τῇ τῶν δούλων διαιρέσει ὡς

πρόκειται.

(m. 4) Τιβέρι[ο]ς Ἰούλιος Θέων ἱερονίκης εὐδοκῶ τῇ τῶν δούλων διαιρέσει ὡς
πρόκειται.

6 l. Βάχχιον?, see commentary 10 l. μάγειρον 12 l. Εὐτράπελον?, see commentary

'We, Tiberius Julius Theon, former strategus of the city and archidicastes, and Tiberius Julius Sarapion his brother, and Tiberius Julius Theon his nephew, one of the class of victors at the sacred games who are exempt from taxation, agree with one another that we have divided among ourselves out of the slaves left by Tiberius Julius Theon, former hypomnematographus and gymnasiarch, father of Theon archidicastes and of Sarapion, grandfather of Theon victor at the sacred games, those mentioned below; that there have fallen to the share of Tiberius Julius Theon, former strategus of the city and archidicastes, Heron scribe, Epagathus, A formerly the property of Diogenes son of Theon, Bacchius (?), Terpnus, Heraclas amanuensis, Diogas, A oleas snub-nosed, Heraclidion, Cornelius who is at Berky, Epitynchanon, Elis, Ammonas notary, Gemellus, Euporas his brother, Eucaerus his brother, and the slaves whom he already possessed when his father was still alive, Carpus and Androsthenes and Agathangelus, Abascantus, Aphroditous; and to Julius Sarapion his brother, Demas amanuensis, Telesphoros repairer, Horimus, Trophon, Diogenes cook, Epaphrys the tall, Corinthus, Demetrius, Lacon, Herm . . . who is in the Arsinoite, Epaphrys notary, Agathys notary, Euporus, Eutrapelus (?), Alexander son of Anabasis, and the slaves whom he already possessed when his father was alive, Demetras, Catillius, Eutyches, Androsthenes, Anabasis; and to Julius Theon victor at the games, Sarapas notary, Abascantion Ethiopian, Telesphorus, Abascantus who is at Cercethyris, Geminus barber, Agathemerus, Practicus, Harpocras, Agathangelus, Epaphrys . . . , Eucaerus notary, Alexander son of Gemella, Agathopous from Cussae, Demetrius from the Lower toparchy, . . . and the slaves whom he already possessed when his father [sic] was still alive, . . . daemon (?), Sarapas, Didymus, . . . ; and each of us is to be master of those whom he has obtained by lot and to deal concerning them as he chooses, the rest of the undivided slaves being common property for the present.

Fifteenth year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 22.
(2nd hand) 'I, Tiberius Julius Sarapion, agree to the division of the slaves as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Tiberius Julius Theon, former strategus of the city and archidicastes, agree to the division of the slaves as aforesaid.'

(4th hand) 'I, Tiberius Julius Theon, victor at the games, agree to the division of the slaves as aforesaid.'

1 Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων: of the bearers of the name Theon known to have been archidicastes he cannot be identified with the holder of the office in A.D. 58 (II 268) and it is hardly possible that he is the father of C. Julius Dionysius, who held the office before A.D. 130 (OGIS II 682; on the date see A. and E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions du Colosse de Memnon*, no. 27); the latter is perhaps a member of the family of C. Julius Theon, ex-hypomnematographus and archidicastes in the early part of the first century A.D., who also had estates in the Oxyrhynchite (XII 1434); cf. further Scherer,

P. Phil. 1, introd. In XXXVIII 2865-6 payment of corn is authorized by the γραμματεῖς of Julius Theon and Julius Sarapion respectively in A.D. 122-3. This Theon looks to be our man (unless he is Theon III) and from 2865 we learn that he had by now become gymnasiarch, presumably of Alexandria. Of the men known from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* this Theon could be identical with the envoy before Trajan (X 1242 = Musurillo, *op. cit.* no. viii) or with the advocate before Hadrian (Musurillo no. ix A). Cf. also the note to Theon I below and P. Erlang. 17. 6 (reign of Hadrian),] εἶδε α' (= πρότερον) Ἰουλίον Θέων[ος.

γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀρχιδικαστής: on the former office see Bilabel, *RE* IV. A 247-50 and CPJ III 454. 1-2 n.; on the latter, Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406-24 and XXII 2349. 26-7 n. From Θέωνος ἀρχιδικαστοῦ in l. 4 it appears that γενόμενος goes with στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως only and that Theon was archidicastes in office when this papyrus was drawn up. It was certainly a superior office to that of strategus of the city, see Jouguet, P. Mil. Vogl. I, p. 220.

2 Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων: no doubt the Julius Sarapion of 2866 referred to above, from which we learn that by A.D. 122-3 he had followed his father in holding the office of hypomnematographus; if so he cannot be the archidicastes Sarapion known from the same year (III 592). The Tiberius Julius Sarapion who was a banker at Alexandria in the reign of Commodus (SB VI 9145) is no doubt a descendant. Cf. too VI 919. 2 (probably A.D. 211), where write κλη(ρονόμων) Ἰουλ(ίου) Σαραπί(ωνος) rather than κλη(ρου) κτλ.

Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων ἀδελφίδου κτλ.: it is tempting to identify him with the Julius Theon τῶν ἱερωνικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν νεωκ[όρος] τοῦ μ[ε]γ[άλ]ου Σαραπίδου [γενόμενος ἀρχιδικαστής [τερπύς] καὶ ὑπομνη[μα]τ[ο]γράφος, who presides over a court case in the period A.D. 121-38 (P. Tebt. II 286 = M. Chr. 83). This would afford one more instance of high office being held by this family (that the office of archidicastes could run in families is well known; cf. P. Bas. 20. 5 n.). Another possible identification is suggested by P. Wisc. 22, together with certain Michigan texts published by Youtie, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 163-9 (where the Wisconsin papyrus is corrected): the papyri, from the years A.D. 156-61, relate to the estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome of Tiberius Julius Theon and Tiberius Julius Theon also called Tryphon. In A.D. 161 the former is ἐναρχος ἀρχιδικαστής. Unquestionably these men belong to the same family as the Tiberii Julii of the present text, and it is not impossible that Theon III, who was no doubt a young man though not a minor in A.D. 111, should have become archidicastes at an advanced age in A.D. 161. But if so, identification with the former archidicastes of P. Tebt. 286 must be abandoned. Cf. also the reference to the former property of Ἰουλίον Θέωνος in XII 1475. 17 (A.D. 267).

διειρηθεῖν: on the form see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, 38 n. 2.

3 Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέωνος γενομένου ὑπομνηματογράφου κτλ.: he may well be the Ἰούλιος Θέων γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος whose decision is quoted in P. Phil. 1 (c. A.D. 103-24) (but see Scherer's note (ii 49) for other possibilities). B.G.U. III 832 (A.D. 113) mentions a trial ἐπὶ Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος γεγυ[μνα]σιαρχηκότων, who could be Theon I and Theon II.

On the office of hypomnematographus see H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, 349-52 and J. R. Rea, XL pp. 31 ff.

3-4 γυμνασιάρχου: not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques* (1967).

6 . . . μ. ττην: written without a gap after Ἐπάγαθον and so likely to be a descriptive title. εἰρημέτην is possible, but the αἰτομέτης seems elsewhere to be a government official.

Διογένους Θέωνος Βάχχιου: unless Βάχχ(ε)ιος is a new demotic, the three genitives are intolerable; read Θέωνος <τοῦ>, or <τοῦ καὶ>, Βάχχιου or, more probably, Βάχχιον. However, there remains a possibility that Βάχχ(ε)ιος is a demotic. A passage of Satyrus suggests that an Alexandrian deme was named after Bacchis, the eponymous hero of the Bacchiad dynasty of Corinth, see XXVII 2465 fr. 3 ii 12-20 and 12 n.; cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 45, II 124 (n. 70), III 15, where correct all three mentions of 'Bacchias' to 'Bacchis'. The conjectured form of the demotic is Βακχιεύς (add to the previous references Fraser, *op. cit.* III p. 153), but Βάχχειος is an acceptable alternative; compare the Alexandrian demotic Βερενίκειος with Βερενικεύς, which was the form used in Ptolemais Hermiou, cf. Fraser, *op. cit.* II 125 (n. 76).

7 Τερπινόν: new to the papyri, but attested in Pape, *Eigennamen*. After it probably a description. προχειροφόρον: not in the papyrological lexica and known to LSJ only from the glossators; but attested now in P. Petaus 34. 24 (where see note).

'Α...ωλεσαν: or 'Α...ωμαν; neither suggests a likely name.

κειμὸν: spacing suggests this is an adjective qualifying the preceding name rather than a new name.

Βερκύ: also mentioned in P.Bad. II 26. 41 from the Hermopolite and XIV 1720. 2, presumably from Oxyrhynchus.

9 Κάριον: also the name of a slave in X 1294; cf. Petronius' pun, *Cena Trimalchionis*, 36. 8.

'Ανδροθέτην καὶ 'Αγαθάγγελον 'Αβάσκαντον: none is given any distinguishing feature although their namesakes occur in lines 13–14 below. However, as the slaves in l. 9 are not being distributed for the first time, confusion would not arise. The name Agathangelus occurs elsewhere only at P.Tebt. II 414. 32 and P.Ross.Georg. II 24. 4.

'Αφροδείτην: she and Anabasis (l. 13, cf. l. 12) are the only females mentioned (cf. introduction), and neither is among slaves now being allocated for the first time.

10 Τελεφόρο[ν]: a good reading both here and in l. 14, though it is strange that in the second instance the slave is given no distinguishing description. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, knows the name only from SB I 2033. 2, in the form Τελεφόρος.

'Ωριμον: the name is new.

Τρόφωνα: found only at P.Amh. II 128. 93. Τρέφωνα can be read, but the name would be new to the papyri. Τρύφωνα is not possible.

11 μακρόν: the need to distinguish this Epaphrys from those in ll. 11 and 15 suggests that μακρός is not a proper name but a nickname ('lofty').

Κ[ό]ρινθον: there is insufficient space for Κήρινθον, known as a slave's name from (e.g.) II 244. Κόρινθος is not in *Namenbuch*, but cf. SB X 10500. 30.

Δημήτριον: given no description here, although his namesake appears, with a description, in l. 15.

'Αγαθὺν: elsewhere only at P.Osl. II 52. 21, where there is no need to correct to 'Αγαθοῦς.

12 Εὐτραπέλου: it is hardly possible that a slave should be referred to by the name of his father, and there is a gap between this name and Ε[ὐ]πορον preceding (cf. introduction). Most probably we should read Εὐτράπελον. The name is not in *Namenbuch* nor D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticum alterum papyrologicum*, but is given by Pape, *Eigennamen*.

Δημητράν: not in *Namenbuch* nor Foraboschi, *op. cit.*

Κατίλλιον: also attested in IX 1201.

13 'Αβασκαντίωνα Αἰθίοπ(α): the name Abascantion is new. Spacing and analogy with (e.g.) P.Flor. I 50. 62 and 94 suggest that Αἰθίοπ(α) is a description (= negro).

Κερκε[ύ]ρι: a village in the λυβὸς τοπαρχία of the Oxyrhynchite nome (X 1285. 70).

κουρέα: a slave barber is also found in P.Mich. v 326. 8.

Πρακτικόν: not in *Namenbuch* but given by Pape, *op. cit.*

16 πατρ[ός]: presumably an error for πάππου.

...οδ.ιμον[.]: not 'Αγαθοδαίμονα.

16–17 ἕκαστον δὲ ἡμῶν κτλ.: read and restored by analogy with other διαιρέσεις, especially P.Flor. 50. 114 f. ἕκαστον δὲ ἡμῶν κρατεῖν καὶ κυρι[εύ]ειν ὧν ἔλαχεν ὡς πρόκειται καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήται.

17 ὁ ἐὰν αἰρήται: normally either καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρήται τρόπον or ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήται.

3198. LOAN OF MONEY

21 3B. 29/C(4)a

12.5 × 9.5 cm.

December A.D. 145/
January A.D. 146?

This fragment of a loan of money is drawn up in the form of a chirograph and made for a period of five months only. Both parties to the contract are women and both would appear to belong to a social class which may be described as well-to-do: Prepousa, the

lender, is a freedwoman of a former gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis and Herais, the borrower, who was originally from the Greek city of Ptolemais, is married to Apollonius, a former exegete of Oxyrhynchus. The back is blank.

The document belongs in the 9th(?) year of an unknown emperor (12 n.). Its date is later than the foundation of Antinoopolis (A.D. 130) and, because of the absence of Aurelii, would seem likely to be earlier than A.D. 212. If we may rely on the singular *Κεβα]στοῦ* (see 9 n.), the only emperors who come in question within these time limits are Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Furthermore, in Tybi of his ninth year Marcus was still ruling jointly with Lucius Verus. This would seem to leave us with Pius as the only possibility;¹ but the absence of Aurelii is not absolutely decisive. Features which point to a third-century date for the text are referred to in 4 n. and 9 n., and palaeographically I should be inclined to put the competent, right-sloping, semi-cursive script rather later than A.D. 145–6.

On loans in the papyri see R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*², 341–9, and H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hell. Papyri* (1965).

→ 'Ηραῖς Πλουτογένους τοῦ 'Αντιόχου ἀπὸ Πτο-
λεμαίδος τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Θείνειτου
μετὰ κυρί[ο]υ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς 'Απολλωνίου ἐξη-
γητεύσαντος τῆς 'Οξύρυχειτῶν πόλεως
5 καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει Πρεπούση ἀπελευθέρῃ [
Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ 'Αμφείωνος Διονυσίου γυμνα-
σιαρχήσαντος τῆς 'Αντινοέων πόλεως κ[αὶ] ὡς
χρηματίζει χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρ[ὰ] τοῦ
διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργ[υ]ρίου Κεβα]στοῦ νομ[ί]μα-
10 τος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν τε[σσαράκον]τα τέσσα[ρα]
[κ]εφαλαίου τόκου δραχ[μ]αίου τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκ[ά]στου
[ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Τύβι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐν[ά]του
[ἐ]τοῦς εἰς ἀπόδοσιν Παῦνι τ[ριακάδι] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους,
[ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγρα[πται] ἐκ[τ]είλω [κοι] τὸ
15 [μ]ὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαι[ον] μεθ' ἡμ[ι]ολία[ς] καὶ
[τὸ]ν τόκον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου

¹ Herais, daughter of Plutogenes the son of Antiochus, from Ptolemais the metropolis of the Thinite, with her husband Apollonius, former exegetes of the city of the Oxyrhynchites and howsoever he is styled, as guardian, to Prepousa, freedwoman of Dionysius also called Amphion, son of Dionysius, former gymnasiarch of the city of the Antinoites and howsoever he is styled, greeting. I agree that I have received from you from hand to hand out of your house one hundred and forty-four silver drachmas of the coinage of the Emperor as principal, at interest of one drachma (per

¹ If the text belongs in an eleventh year, year 11 of Pius is A.D. 147/8, of Marcus 170/1.

mina) in each month, from the present month Tybi of the current ninth year, to be repaid on the thirtieth of Payni in the same year; and if I do not repay as written, I will pay you the aforesaid principal increased by a half and the interest for the period overdue. . . .

1-2 Πτολεμαῖδος τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Θεινέτου: it is useful to have documentary confirmation of Ptolemy's statement (iv. 5. 66) that the Greek city of Ptolemais functioned as metropolis of the surrounding nome.

3-4 Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξηγητεύσαντος: an Apollonius ἐναρχος ἐξηγητής of Oxyrhynchus appears in XXXI 2584. 3 (A.D. 211), and Apollonii who were formerly exegetes there in VIII 1112. 2 (A.D. 188) and P.Harr. 75. 3 (third century; A.D. 249?).

4 τῆς Ὀξυρυγχεῖων πόλεως: if the papyrus is really to be dated A.D. 145-6 this is a remarkably early occurrence of this phrase, which did not become standard until well into the third century; cf. however III 494. 38, ἀγορανόμος τῆς Ὀξυρυγχεῖων πόλεως, of A.D. 156 and XLIII 3088. 7-8 Ὀξυρυγχεῖων τῇ πόλει of A.D. 128; D. Hagedorn, Z.P.E. 12 (1973) 277-92.

5 Πρεπούς: otherwise only in P. Col. Zen I. 54. 3: κατηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Πρεπούς τῆς Δημητρίου. It is noteworthy that Prepousa, unlike Herais, has no κύριος, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* II, 355-8.

6-7 Διονυσίου γυμνασιαρχήσαντος: not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques* (1967).

9 ἐξ οἴκου σου: once again we have a phrase which did not become common until much later than the middle of the second century. In fact it is not until the fourth century that the addition of the personal pronoun to ἐξ οἴκου becomes regular. The only second-century example I have noticed is P.S.I. XII 1253 (Oxyrhynchus; A.D. 186) - a good parallel throughout - where l. 5 reads ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἐξ οἴκου σου κτλ.

Σεβαστοῦ: this seems regularly to be used in the singular when there was only one emperor and in the plural when there were more than one. But exceptions do occur, e.g. P. Mich. III 188 and P. Mich. XI 605, both no doubt written by the same scribe, which use Σεβαστῶν in the reign of Hadrian.

11 τόκου δραχμιαίου τοῦ] μηνὸς ἐκ[άστου: cf. J. Herrmann, *JJP* 14 (1962) 23-31. The usual expression is τόκος δραχμιαῖος ἐκάστης μῆνας κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, but it was not uncommon, at any rate in the Oxyrhynchite nome, to substitute τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου for κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον. The omission here of reference to the mina is surprising and may be just a slip; cf. however P. Petaus 31. 5-6 (A.D. 183-4) τόκου δραχμιαίου κατὰ μῆνα.

12 ἐν[άτου: ἐν[δεκάτου is almost certainly too large for the space.

14 ff. τὸ μὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον. . . . καὶ τὸν τόκον: for μὲν . . . καὶ see Mayser, *Grammatik* II (3), 130, with reference in particular to UPZ I 125. 19 ἀποτείσατω τὸ μὲν δάνειον ἡμιόλιον καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου τοὺς τόκους. (In SB X 10246 = II 304. 12 f., ἐκτείσω σοι τὸ πᾶν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον, we should read τὸ μὲν προκείμενον as has been confirmed from a photograph kindly supplied by Cambridge University Library.)

3199. LETTER OF HARPOCRATION

22 3B. 19/M (2-3)a

Fragment a, 7 × 8.5 cm.
Fragment b, 7 × 9 cm.

Second century

Two non-contiguous fragments of a letter concerning commonplace but to us not very intelligible business affairs. The extent of the gap between the two fragments cannot be estimated.

→ Ἀρποκ[ρα]τίων Φιλεᾶτι τῷ
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. καθὼς
ἐνετειλάμην σοι μὴ ἄ-

3199. LETTER OF HARPOCRATION

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μελήσης τοῦ διαπέμψε

5 (δραχμάς) β- εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. καὶ δήλωσόν μοι
περὶ ὧν ἐνετειλάμην
σοι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀπε-
τήσεως καὶ εἰ δεδώκα-
σιν οἱ περὶ Εἰσίδωρον.
10 μὴ [ο]ὖν ἀμελήσης, ἐν . . .
... [

.
[. . . .]. [. . . .]. [. . .]
ρον. ἐρρώστέ [ε]ξ
εὐχομαι.

15 ἀσπάζου τὸν πατέρα
Σαπρίωνα.

Back → [Φι]λεᾶτι π(αρά) Ἀρποκρατίωνος[ε]

4 l. διαπέμψαι 7 l. ἀπαιτήσεως 9 l. Ἴσίδωρον 13 l. ἐρρώσθαι

'Harpocraton to his brother Phileas, greeting. As I ordered you, do not neglect to send 2 drachmas to the boat. And inform me about the affairs concerning which I gave you orders, and about the collection, and whether the men in Isidorus's charge have paid. So do not neglect the matter. . . . I pray for your health. Greet our father Saprion.'

4 εἰς τὸ πλοῖον: above translated 'to the boat', but 'for the boat' is also possible.
10 f. Apparently not εἰς γάρ, εἰς εἰδώς, or εἰς ἐπι/στάμενος.
12 f. Εἰς[εἰδω]/ρον could be read.

3200. LEASE OF HALF A HOUSE

5 1B. 57/K (a)

7.5 × 17 cm.

Second/third century

This is a conventional Oxyrhynchite property-lease of the Roman period. For leases of this kind see the introduction to P. Yale 69. The end is missing, but the surviving part preserves the terms of the lease. It is for five years, at a rent of 72 drachmas *p.a.*, payment to be made half-yearly.

The handwriting is a practised and not unattractive cursive of a very common type, which may be assigned to the late second or early third century. The papyrus refers to the 'coming second year' without specifying the emperor. The back is blank.

→ Ἐμίσθωσεν Ὁξυρύντων πόλεως Βησᾶτι Ἀρ-
ρήμονος μητρὸς Κινθεῦτος
ἀπ' Ὁξυρύντων πόλεως Βησᾶτι Ἀρ-

- ποκράτος μητρὸς Ταυσοράπιος
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως εἰς ἔτη πέντε
 ἀπὸ νεομηνίας Θῶθ τοῦ ἐιόν-
 τος δευτέρου ἔτους τὸ ὑπάρχον
 αὐτῷ προὸν παρὰ τῷ μεμισθω-
 μένῳ ἐπ' ἀμφοδον Νότου
 10 Κρηπίδος ἥμισυ μέρος οἰκίας
 ὑφ' ἣν κατάγιον cὺν χρηστηρίοις
 πᾶσι, ἐνοικίου κατ' ἔτος δραχμῶν
 ἐβδομήκοντα δύο, ἅσπερ βε-
 βαιουμένης τῆς μισθώσεως
 15 ἀποδότω ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ
 μεμισθωκότῳ κατ' ἔτος ἐν δόσει
 δυεὶ δι' ἑξαμήνου τὸ ἥμισυ
 ἀνυπερθέτως, χρώμενος cὺν
 τ[ο]ῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τῷ μισθουμένῳ
 20 ἡ]μίσει μέρει τῆς οἰκίας cὺν χρη-
 στηρίοις ἀκωλύτως· μετὰ δὲ
 τὸν χρόνον ἐκχωρεῖτω ὁ με-
 μισθωμένος τῆς μισθώσεως,
 παραδοὺς τοὺς τόπους καθαρὸν
 25 ἀπὸ] κοπρι[ῶν] καὶ δ[είρης
 πάσης ὡς καὶ] παρείλ[ηφεν καὶ
 τὰ]ς [ἐφες] τῶσα[ς] θύρας καὶ κ[λεις,
 ἣ ἀποτεισάτω οὐδ' ἐὰν μ[ὴ παρα-
 δῶ τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν ὁ δ' ἐὰν
 30 προσοφειλέσῃ ἐκ τῶν [ἐνοικί-
 ων μεθ' ἡ]μιολίας, κ[αὶ ἡ] πρᾶξις
 ἔστω ἕκ τε αὐτ[οῦ] . . .

3 οἰκιστῶν 6 l. εἰσιόντος 7 ὑπαρχον 10 l. Κρηπίδος 11 ὑφ, l. κατάγιον
 28 l. ἀποτισάτω

'Sarammon son of Chaeremon and Sintheus, of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Besas son of Harpocras and Tausorapis, of the same city, for five years from the first day of Thoth of the coming second year, the half which he owns, previously in the hands of the lessee (?), in the South Quay quarter, of a house, beneath which is a cellar, with all appurtenances, at a rent of 72 drachmas a year, which if the lease is confirmed the lessee shall pay the lessor in two instalments a year, half the sum

at six-monthly intervals, without any delay, he together with his assigns having the use of the half of the house leased to him with appurtenances without hindrance; and at the end of the period the lessee shall relinquish the lease, giving up the rooms free from filth and dirt of every kind, in the condition in which he has received them, together with the existing doors and locks, or shall forfeit the proper value of whatever he fails to give up and whatever he still owes out of the rents, increased by half; and the right of execution shall be against him and (his property . . .).

6-7 Most property leases take effect from the new year, whether the contract was drawn up before the period began, as here (τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους), or after (τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους); otherwise generally at mid-year, Phamenoth.

8-9 προὸν παρὰ τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ: this cryptic phrase is not to my knowledge paralleled in other leases. In some leases (e.g. III 502) and other documents previous ownership is mentioned in the formula πρότερον τοῦ δεῖνα, and it may be that προὸν παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα is merely a variation of this. (To read πρό(τερ)ον makes the phrase no easier.) We may then suppose that the lease was accompanied (or, more strictly, was preceded) by the sale of the half-house by Besas to Sarammon. A preferable interpretation is that the property was not formerly owned by Besas but formerly on lease to him, that this lease, in fact, is in effect the extension of another lease due to expire at the end of the year. An analogous situation is sometimes implied in land-leases, in the formula ἐμίσθωσεν . . . τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ . . . προγεωργουμέναν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεμισθωμένου ἀρούρας κτλ. It may be relevant to draw attention to the expression ἐκχωρεῖτω . . . τῆς μισθώσεως, παραδοὺς κτλ. at 22 ff., which is an otherwise insignificant variation of the normal παραδότω. In P. Yale 69. 26-6 the sense is presumably παραδότω (or παραδῶσει) ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ μεμισθωκότῳ.

27 κ[λεις]: κλειδας does not become regular until the third century.

30 ἐκ τῶν [ἐνοικί]ων: the singular is more usual, and I had wondered whether δόσει should be restored; but P. Yale 69, which also requires that payment should be made ἐν δόσει δυεὶ, has ὁ ἐὰν προσοφειλέσῃ ἀπὸ [τ]ῶν ἐνοικίων (28-9).

32 Missing at the end are: (i) the completion of the πρᾶξις clause, (ii) the κυρία clause, (iii) the date (towards the end of the year, probably Mesore), and (iv) the subscription.

3201. LIST OF CLOTHING

9 IB. 172/G (a)

10.2 × 14 cm.

Third century

This list, written in black ink, is in a plain, semi-cursive script that is most likely to belong in the third century or the latter part of the second. The writer is unsure of his orthography and vacillates between the nominative and the genitive throughout. Similar lists, mostly without prices, are VI 921, VII 1051, XXIV 2424, P. Tebt. II 405, P. Gen. 80, P. Merton II 71, P. Michael. 18, SB VIII 9834, O. Bodl. II 1948, P. Dura 33. The articles are all clothing with one possible exception (see l. 6 n.). Each is accompanied by a sum of money, which is far too small to be its market value (cf. the prices of clothes given in A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 318-20) or even its value when pawned. Possibly the papyrus records interest charged by a pawnbroker on articles deposited with him. Pawning of clothes is often mentioned in the papyri, cf. I 114, VI 936, P. Lond. II (p. 245) 193v, P. Fay. 12 (= M. *Chrest.* 15), P. Ryl. IV 606, P. Ross. Georg. III 11, P. Mich. III 173, and Husselman, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 251 ff. Another possibility is that they are charges for fulling.

The back is blank.

→	ὑπὲρ προτέρου λόγ(ου)	=
	κολοβίου ἐνσήμ(ου) θα()	F
	μονοχίθων μελίτιν(ος)	5a F
	φενόλ(ου) ἰδιοχρόμ(ου)	χ ^β
5	χιθῶνος λευκ(οῦ)	χ ^β
	κύτη ἀμμίνη	5a [
	φενόλης μέλας	5β [
	δερματικ(ή) λευκή	5a
	δερματικ(ιον) λινούν πρ()	χ ^β
10	κολοβί(ο)ν λινούν θα()	F
	Θῶθ κολοβ(ίου) ἐνσήμ(ου)	F
	γί(νονται)	5i =

3 μονοχίθων (l. μονοχίτων), ι written through χ, so in χιθῶνος, l. 5 4 l. φαινόλου ἰδιοχράμουν
5 l. χιθῶνος 6 l. κοίτη? 7 φενόλης (l. φαινόλης), φ corrected from χ 8, 9 l. δαλμα- 9 p
written through π.

'On behalf of the previous account	2 ob.
A striped shirt of Tarsian weave (?)	4 ob.
A single-tunic (?), honey-coloured	1 dr. 5 ob.
An undyed cloak	2 ch.
A white tunic	2 ch.
A sandy-coloured bed (?)	1 dr. [
A black cloak	2 dr. [
A white Dalmatian robe	1 dr.
A linen Dalmatian vest, once fulled (?)	2 ch.
A linen shirt of Tarsian weave (?)	4 ob.
Thoth. A striped cloak	4 ob.
Total	10 dr. 2 ob.'

2 ἐνσήμ(ου): so l. 11. Also P. Ryl. IV 606. 34-5 λ[.]ωτίκην ἔνσημος (l. λωτίκιον ἔνσημον) (where the translation 'a fine counterpane' is unacceptable) and X 1273. 12-14 δελματικομαφόρτην ἀργέν-
τινον ἔνσημον. . . . , χιτώνιον. . . . ἔνσημον. Cf. Pap.Lugd.Bat. I 15. 6-11 διεπεμψάμην. . . . τὸ τῶν
κολοβί[ων] ζεῦγος α, ὁ δὲ λινόυφος. . . . ἡργάσατο αὐτὰ δίχα σημείου, where the editors translate δίχα
σημείου 'without border' or 'without design/pattern'. But analogies with λακωνόσημος (I 114. 7),
πλατύσημος (P. Hamb. I 10. 15), ἀχαιόσημος (Pap.Lugd.Bat. III 15. 10-11), etc. support the meaning
'striped' for ἔνσημος (so LSJ Suppl.).

θα(): also l. 10. θα(ρικοῦ) i.e. Ταρσικοῦ? Cf. P. Strasb. 246. 6 στιχαρίων ταρσικῶν, P. Beatty
Panop. 2. 20 στιχάρια ταρσικά, and for the orthography I 109. 8 λίνια θαρσικά, XVI 2053. 8 ὑπ(ἐρ)
θαρσικ(ῶν). In Diocletian's *Edictum de pretiis*, chs. 26-8, there are frequent references to garments as
Ταρσικῶν or Ταρσικῶν Ἀλεξανδρινῶν.

Another possibility is θα(ψίνου) = 'yellow', suggested by Dr John Rea; if right, it would support
πρ(άκινον) in l. 9; note that nearly every other line has an indication of colour.

3 μονοχίθων: outside the papyri an adjective meaning 'wearing just a tunic', which is obviously
unsuitable here. Elsewhere in the papyri it is also an adjective: P.S.I. X 1116. 3-4 στολῆς [λε?]νῆς
μοροκίτωνος and Pap.Lugd.Bat. VI 21. 20 ε[τολὴν πορφύρην μονοκίτωνον. In a note on the latter Van
Groningen suggests, without much confidence, 'a purple garment to be worn with one tunic', or
'consisting of just a tunic' or 'combined with the tunic'. Possibly μονο- has the same force as

μοναχός in X 1273. 13-14 χιτώνιον λευκὸν μοναχόν, and P.Hamb. I 10. 26-7 ἱμάτιον μοναχὸν ἀμπέ-
λινον, which Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. (4), takes to mean 'nicht gefüttert, ohne Zeugfutterunterlage',
i.e. 'unlined'.

μελίτιν(ος): here obviously used of colour. Elsewhere only at VI 936. 11, μελίτινα στεφάνια,
which is held to mean 'honey-sweet garlands'; cf. SB III 7033. 38 δελματικὸν μελιτόχρων.

4 φενόλ(ου): Latin *paenula*; cf. P. Yale 82. 8n.

6 κύτη: for κοίτη? For a bed included in a list of clothes cf. W. *Chrest.* 244. 3 and 5 κοίτη[ην],
SPP XX 46. 27 κλένη ὀνήλατος, P. Dura 33. 11 κλεινο[.].

ἀμμίνη: with κοίτη in a papyrological context this would naturally mean 'a sandy plot of land',
but this is clearly unsuitable here, where ἀμμίνη must be used of colour. Cf. perhaps P. Strasb. 131
(= SB V 8013). 6]υκαμμινον ἡμτριβήν κλιμωτον ἀπὸ ριζένης πορφύρας, later corrected (*Papyrus
greco. . . de Strasbourg*, ed. J. Schwartz, p. 184) to] λευκοάμμινον (sic; but indexed under λευκάμ-
μινος), which is presumably to be understood as 'of the colour of white sand'. ἀμμίνη, derived from
ἄμμα 'cord', 'rope' (cf. XXIV 2424. 44 ἄμματος ἐπιρῖδ(ιον) α), is an improbable formation.

8-9 δερματικ(ή), δερματικ(ιον): for δαλμα-; see Murri, *Aegyptus* 23 (1943), pp. 121-7. No
connexion with δέρμα.

9 πρ(): an abbreviation found also of clothing in P. Hib. I 67. 10 ff. (W. *Chrest.* 306) τιμὰ[ς
ὀθονίων τῶν [συντελ]ομένων εἰς τὸ [βα]λ[ι]κ[ὸν] μὴ() κα πρ() ζ, / ἱς(τοὶ ?) κη, where the editors
tentatively suggest πρ(οκεφάλαια). Here it must be an adjective, perhaps πρ(ωτόγναφον), cf. e.g. P.
Tebt. II 406. 14 κιτώνιον πρ[ωτό]γναφον. LSJ translate 'fresh from the fuller's', i.e. new. Perhaps rather
'only fulled once', i.e. relatively new but not as new as ἀγναφος; cf. P. Michael. 18. col. ii 2 n., P. Mert.
II 71. 11 n., and Blümner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian*, p. 115. Another possibility is πρ(άκινον),
cf. P. Tebt. II 405. 1 κιθῶν πράκινος, and SB III 6024. 3 στιχαρομοφόριν πρ[ά]κινον.

3202. INVITATION TO A CROWNING¹

40 5B. 109/K (1-4)e

4.7 × 3.3 cm.

Late third/early fourth century

An invitation from a prytane to his crowning (στεύμε), to take place on the following
day. The location is not specified and it is impossible to be sure whether this will have
varied according to the nature of the office involved; if it did, the prytane might have been
crowned in the βουλευτήριον, otherwise perhaps in the gymnasium. The practice of
crowning magistrates in the metropoleis is well known (see 3177 introd.). A similar
invitation to this is contained in XVII 2147, where Eudaemon sends an invitation to dinner
in the gymnasium on the occasion of the crowning of his son Nilus on the first of a month.
The office is not specified, but was perhaps a gymnasiarchy. Similarly in W. *Chrest.*
41. ii 6 ff., of A.D. 232, there is an account of the crowning of a gymnasiarch by a strategus
on the first of Thoth: [Θῶθ α δ] στρατηγός ὑπὸ νύκτα [.] ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἅμα
Αὐρη[λίῳ] ε[]στεψεν εἰς γυμνασιάρχ[ίαν] Αὐρήλιον Π[ε]λαιῶν Ἀρπαήσιος Ἰέρα[κος]
(?) καὶ ἔθυσεν ἐν τε τῷ Καίσαρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ. An oddity in the present
document is the fact that the crowning was to take place in Tybi, probably on the 9th
(see note to l. 4), whereas the other available evidence indicates that the prytane usually
took up office on Thoth 1 (SB V 7696. 45 ff., cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*,
pp. 61-5). This is perhaps best explained by the supposition that the investiture was, for

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 20 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American
Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

some reason, delayed (cf. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 130, Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 347). For an exhaustive discussion of documents of this type see the introduction to P. Yale 85.

→ καλὶ σε ὁ πρύ-
τανις εἰς τὴν
στῆψιν αὐτοῦ
αὐριον Τῦβι θ
5 ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) η'.

1 l. καλεῖ

'The prytane invites you to his crowning tomorrow, Tybi 9, from the eighth hour.'

4 The numeral might possibly be read as an alpha, but since other examples of alpha in this text are formed differently, I have preferred theta.

5 Apparently a normal time, cf. XVII 2147. 4, XXXVI 2791. 5.

3203. LEASE OF EXEDRA AND CELLAR

11 1B. 151 (2)/F(a)

12 × 30 cm.

June–July A.D. 400

This contract follows the conventional form of Oxyrhynchite property leases of the Byzantine era, on which see J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 274 ff. The lessors are two anchorite nuns, the lessee a Jew.

The back is blank.

→ μ]ετὰ τὴν ὑπατ[εῖαν Φλ(αοῦ) Θεοδώρου
τοῦ λαμπ[ροτάτου] Ἐπειφ .
Αὐρηλίαις Θεοδώρ[α] καὶ
Ταύρι[ν] ἐκ πατρὸς Κυβανοῦ
5 ἀ]πὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης
᾽Ο]ξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως μοναχαῖς ἀποτακτικαῖς
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰωσὴ Ἰούδα Ἰουδαίως
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐκουσίως
ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομηνία[ς]
10 τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς Μεσορῆ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ἔτους ὅς με ἀρχῇ τῇ[ς] τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα[άτης]
Ἰνδικ[τ]ίονος ἀπὸ [τῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντων
ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ᾽Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει
ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς
15 ἐπίπεδον τόπον ξνα ἐξέτρην κα[ὶ]

τῇ[ν] ἐν τῷ καταγείῳ καμάραν μία[ν]
ἐν] χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι, καὶ τελ[έ]ω
ὑπέρ] ἐνοικίου αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτίως
ἀρ[γυ]ρίου μυριάδας χιλί[α]ς διακοσίας,
20 γί(νονται) (δηναρίων μυριάδες) Ἄς, καὶ ἐπάνα[γ]κ[ε]ς
ἀποδώσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον
δι' ἐξαμήνου τὸ ἡμι[ς]ν ἀνυπερθέτως,
καὶ ὅποτε βουληθῇ[τ]αι παραδώσω τοὺς
αὐτοὺς τόπους καθα[ρο]ὺς ὡς καὶ παρείληφα.
+ κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις δις[τῇ] γραφῆσα καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
ὥμ(ολόγησα).
25 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἰωσὴ Ἰούδα ὁ προκείμενος
μεμίσθωμαι τὸ κυπόσιον καὶ ἀποδώ-
σω τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίας
᾽Οπεβαίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὅτι γράμματα μὴ εἶδ(ότος).

2 v remade 4 ταῦριν 7 Ἰωσηουδαίουδαιως, l. Ἰουδαίος, in error for Ἰουδαίου 12 l.
Ἰνδικτίωνος 15 l. ἐξέδραν 23 l. βουληθῇτε 24 l. γραφεῖσα 25 ὁ: ο corr. from π l.
προκείμενος 27 l. πρόκειται

'The year after the consulship of Flavius Theodorus the most illustrious, Epeiph x. To Aurelia Theodora and Aurelia Tauris, daughters of Silvanus, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, anchorite nuns, from Aurelius Jose son of Judas, Jew, of the same city. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the first day of the next month, Mesore, of the current 76 = 45th year, at the beginning of the fourteenth indiction, out of the property that you own in the aforesaid city of Oxyrhynchus in the Cavalry Camp quarter, one ground-floor room, namely a hall, together with the one cellar in the basement, with all appurtenances, and I shall pay as rent for them annually one thousand two hundred myriads of silver, 1,200 myr. of denarii, and I shall compulsorily pay the rent in six-monthly instalments of one-half of the sum, without any delay, and whenever you wish I shall give up the said rooms free from dirt in the condition in which I have received them. This lease, of which there are two copies, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.

I, Aurelius Jose, son of Judas, the aforementioned, have leased the dining-room and shall pay the rent as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Elias son of Opebaeus (?), have written for him as he is illiterate.'

1 Eutropius, consul for the East for the year 399, was expelled from the consulship and stripped of all honours by Arcadius' law of 17 August 399 (*Cod. Theod.* ix 40. 17: the date is Seeck's emendation for the impossible 17 January (*xvi kal. feb.*) of the codex. Cf. the account given by Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* vi 5). The papyrus, with its dating by the single consul, shows that the law, hardly surprisingly, was known at Oxyrhynchus by the following summer.

4 Ταύρι(ν): more probably just a mistaken nu (Mayser² i i 171–3) than accusative for dative (J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en grec*, 178–81: frequent even when there is less syntactical justification than in the examples given there).

6 μοναχαῖς ἀποτακτικαῖς. For ἀποτακτικός see P. Herm. Rees 9. 2 n. Eremitic as opposed to cenobitic monasteries were allowed to own property and engage in individual commercial transactions: P. Barison, 'Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino ed arabo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci', *Aeg.* 18 (1938) 29–148, esp. 39 f., 62 ff., and A. L. Ballini, 'Osservazioni giuridiche a recenti indagini papirologiche sui monasteri Egiziani', *Aeg.* 19 (1939) 77–88, esp. 79–81, and cf. P. Lips. 28, a contract of adoption in which the adopted son becomes an anchorite's heir. On the

overwhelming number of Christian communities and the crowded conditions at Oxyrhynchus at just about this time, see the *Historia Monachorum*, ch. 5, οὐχ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν κατ' ἀξίαν τὰ θαύματα (sc. at Oxyrhynchus): γέμει γὰρ ἔνδοθεν οὕτως μοναστηρίων, ὥς τὰ τεῖχη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τῶν μοναχῶν, περιέχεται δὲ ἐξωθεν ἑτέροις μοναστηρίοις, ὥς ἄλλην εἶναι παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐξω πόλιν, κτλ.

8-9 ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μεθώσασθαι: the invariable formula at Oxyrhynchus from A.D. 296 onwards: H. Comfort, *Aeg.* 14 (1934) 286 ff.

11 On the Oxyrhynchite double system of year dating see A. Bataille in V. Grumel, *Traité d'Études Byzantines*, I, La Chronologie, p. 217.

15 For the apposition of ἐξέτρην το ἐπίπεδον τόπον ἔνα cf. I 76. 19 f., ὑπερφύου δύο κυμπόσιον καὶ κοιτῶνα, and 'Urkunden aus Panopolis' in *ZPE* 7 (1971) no. 13. 4-6, μέρος οἰκίας... κυμπόσιον τε καὶ ἐξέδραν.

19 The same amount is paid in A.D. 444 for the lease of two dining rooms (VIII 1129).

26 τὸ κυμπόσιον: i.e. the exedra, the cellar being subsumed. The inconsistency of the description may be compared with the looseness of VIII 1129, a lease of δύο τόπους ἥτοι κυμπόσια.

28 The last part of the line, formulaic as it is, is a mere scrawl.

3204. DEED OF SURETY

2 1B. 93/(a)

16 × 28 cm.

1 January A.D. 588

A deed of surety in standard form from Apollos son of Phoebammon guaranteeing that a *colonus adscripticius* whose name has been lost will remain in his village. The loss of c. 15 letters from the left side of most of the papyrus has removed the name of the addressee, a lady who holds the position of pagarch. As in P.S.I. I 52, also addressed to a pagarch, the serf had been in a municipal rather than a private prison. There is no apparent reason to connect this text with the Apion estate which has furnished most of the parallel documents.

For similar texts add to the list in P. Mert. II 98 introd. XXIV 2420, XXVII 2478 (on the date of which see *JE* 49 (1963) 181), and *ZPE* 5 (1970) 286 ff.

→ [†Βασιλείας τοῦ θε] [ο] τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστος εὐεργέτης
[Φλ(αουίου) Μαυρικίου Τ]ιβεριίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος
ἔτους 5'
[καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτ]οῦ ἡμῶν δεσ[πότη]τος ἔτους 6' Τύβι 5' ἰνδ(ικτίονος) 5 (ἔτους)
εξδ' αλγ
[Φλ(αουία) c. 14] τῇ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ ἰλλουστρία θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου
μνήμης
5 [c. 15] φη[ο]ς γεουχούσης ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει διὰ σοῦ
[c. 15] γος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ Ἀπολλῶς βοηθὸς τῆς
[αὐτῆς ὑμετέρας ἐν]δοξ(ότητος) υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Φοιβάμμωνος ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ
τῆς
[αὐτῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) π]όλεως ἐξῆς ὑπ[ο]γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ
ἐκουσία

[γνώμη καὶ αὐ]θαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει ἐπαμνύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον
10 [ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀνα]δέχεσ[θ]αι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐνδοξ(ότητι) διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ
προσηκόντων
[Αὐρ(ήλιον) c. 12] ὄν υἱὸν Ἰωάννου μητρος Ναμίθας ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ
[c. 12 πα]γαρχουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητος τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου
[νομοῦ ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐ]τὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ
[κώμῃ μετὰ τῶν αὐ]τοῦ φιλτάτων καὶ γαμετῆς καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς
15 [αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευῆς] ἀποκρινόμενον εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ὀρώντα τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπ[ον]
[ἥτοι τὴν τοῦ ἐναπογρά]φου τύχην καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν καταλεῖψαι τὴν αὐτὴν
[κώμην c. 12] μήτε μὴν μεθίστασθ[αι] εἰς ἕτερον τόπ[ο]ν ἀλλὰ καὶ
[ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸ]ν πρὸς ἐμὲ πα[ρὰ] τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας διὰ τῶν
[αὐτῇ προσηκόντων] ἐν οἰαδήποτε ἡμέρᾳ οἰαζομένην ἔνεκεν
20 [προφ]ά[εως] τῶν παροίκα καὶ παραδώσω ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ
[ἐκτό]ς παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγου ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρείληφα,
ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως· ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆσω ὁμολογῶ
[καταβαλ]εῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπολείψεως χρυσοῦ οὐγκίας δύο Ἀλεξανδρείας
[ἔργῳ καὶ δ]υνάμει ἀπαιτουμένας, ὑποθέμενος εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ταύτης τῆς
25 [ἐγγυῆς πάν]τ[α] μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς
[ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑπο]θήκης δικαί[ω]. κυρία ἢ ἐγγυῆ ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ
[ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολό]γησα.† (m. 2) Ἀπο[λ]λῶς υἱ[ὸς] τοῦ μακαρί[ου Φοι-]
[βάμμωνος] (traces)
→ (Back) [ἐγγυῆ Ἀπολλῶ]τος υἱοῦ τοῦ μ[ακ(αρίου) Φοιβάμ-]
30 [μωνος ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως ἀρ[αδεχομένου c. 25]..

ψι.....

3 τυβί, ἰνδ/ 7 υἱός 8 ἰδία 10 ὑμετερα 11 υἱὸν Ἰωαννου, 1. ὀρμώμενον 12 ὑπο,
ὑμων 17 μεθίστασθαι 18 ὑμων 24 ὑποθέμενος 25 ὑπάρχοντα ὑπαρξοντα ἰδικως
30 1. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν

'Year 6 of the reign of our most godly and pious sovereign and greatest benefactor Fl. Mauricius Tiberius the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 5 of the consulship of our same sovereign, Tybi 6 of the 6th indiction, year 264 = 233.

'To Flavia... the most honoured *illustris*, daughter of... of honoured memory, landholder here in the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, acting through you, ..., her most illustrious administrator; Apollos, assistant of your same honour, son of the departed Phoebammon, coming from the same city of Oxyrhynchus, whose signature follows below in my own hand, greeting. I agree voluntarily and of my own free choice, under the sacred oath by the genius of the emperor, to give surety and pledge before your honour, acting through your honour's representatives, for... son of John and Namitha (?), who comes from the village... of your honour's pagarchy in the Oxyrhynchite nome, on the following terms. He shall continually stay and abide in his village with his loved ones and his wife and his beasts and all his possessions. He shall be responsible for all that regards his person or the fortune of a serf. He shall by no means leave the same village... nor remove to another place; but if

he is required of me by your excellence, acting through your excellence's representatives, at any date for any reason whatsoever I shall bring him forward and deliver him up in a public place without recourse to any place of refuge or letter of safe-conduct, in the place whence I took charge of him, in the prison of the same city. Or if I fail to do this, I agree to pay for his non-appearance two ounces of gold (by the standard) of Alexandria, actual payment of which is to be enforced. And I pledge for the rights of this deed of surety all my property present and future, in particular and in general, as security and by way of mortgage. This deed of surety written in one copy is valid, and in reply to the formal question I have so declared.'

(Subscription) 'I, Apollos, son of the departed Phoebammon....'

(Back) 'Deed of surety of Apollos, son of the departed Phoebammon, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, who gives pledge for...'

1-3 For the systems of dating used in the reign of Maurice see N. Lewis, *AJP* 60 (1939) 414-21.

10 *παρὰ τῇ κτλ.*: the dative is found again in P.S.I. I 52. 13 and *ZPE* 5 (1970) 287. 5.

17 The lacuna included the name of the village.

23 For the omission of ζυγῶ before 'Αλεξανδρείας cf. e.g. P. Iand. 18. 3-4.

30 The traces after the lacuna are perhaps not incompatible with *γῆν* 'Ιωάκκον, but they hardly compel that reading, and it is more probable that the whole name of the serf has been lost, the remaining traces being the name of his village of origin.

VII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

3205. Land-register from the Mendesian nome, first published by Professor A. Swiderek, *JfP* 16-17 (1971) 31-44. No inv. no. Col. i 25 × 27 cm. A.D. 297-308.

Col. i

↓ *Μεν]δησίῳ*
τοπ]αρχίας Φερνουφίτου
] . ρ [. . .] . . . ε ὑπὸ Φιλέου κηνσίτορος
βρεονιο ἐδάφους κατ' ἄνδρα
5 *ἐν τόμ[ω] ἐνὶ κολ(λημάτων) ὑλζ*
συνή[χθη]σαν ἐνεργοῦς γῆς ἀπογεγραμ-
μένης (ἄρ.) (μυρ.) 'ΑψϞ Ζηλβξδ
ἐν [αἰς] ἀπὸ πλεονα[σμοῦ] (ἄρ.) 'BCξς Ζηισλβ
ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (ἄρ.) Ϟζ ηισλβ
10 *χέρσου ἀπογεγραμμένης (ἄρ.) 'Bλμθ*
χερς[οπαρ]αδεί(ων) (ἄρ.) 'ΑρϞδ δξδ
οὕτως
βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς (ἄρ.) 'Γυπδ Δδξδ''
ταμι[α]κ(ῶν) αουνδικίων (ἄρ.) γλῆ'
15 *[ἐν αἰ]ς ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ (ἄρ.) β ηξδ*
κτη[τό]ρων (ἄρ.) 'Γυπα ηξδ
ἐν αἰς ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ (ἄρ.) 'ACς δηλβξδ
ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως
χέρσου (ἄρ.) με Ζηισ
20 *καὶ [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπινεμήσεως (ἄρ.) τε*
ιδιωτ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) 'Zφξς ηισλβ
ὧν
ταμιακῶν αουνδικίων (ἄρ.) η
κτη[τό]ρων (ἄρ.) 'Zφνη ηισλβ
25 *ἀπ[ὸ] πλεονασμοῦ (ἄρ.) λπζ ις''*
θεω . []ερ[]ικη. (ἄρ.) Cγ δξδ''
ἀ[πὸ] πλεονασμοῦ (ἄρ.) β Δδ''
(γίνονται) τάξεως ιδιωτ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) 'Zψξθ δηισλβξδ

Col. ii

- ἀμπέλου φορίμης (ἄρ.) υἱα.η [λβξδ]
 30 αἱ οὐ(σαι) κτητόρων
 ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ (ἄρ.) ιη. [
 καὶ ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (ἄρ.) μζ. [
 παραδίσων ἐναρέτων (ἄρ.) κβ d[ηλβ]
 ὧν
 35 ταμιακῶν αουνδικ(ιων) (ἄρ.) β
 κτητόρων (ἄρ.) κdη[λβ]
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ζ. λβ
 κυαμῶνος
 αἱ οὐ(σαι) ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) μβ d. .
 40 (γίνονται) τάξεως παραδίσων (ἄρ.) ξδ ∠ηις
 χαρακῶνος ἐμφύτου (ἄρ.) ξ ις
 ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ∠ηιςλβξδ
 καὶ ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (ἄρ.) β'
 (γίνονται) ἐνεργοῦς αἱ προκ(είμηναι)
 45 χέρσου ὁμοίως ἀπογεγραμμένης
 βασιλικ(ῆς) (ἄρ.) Cξ.
 ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) ψν. .
 χερσαμπέλου (ἄρ.) Ἀων[η]∠ηξδ
 ὧν
 50 ταμιακῶν αουνδικ(ιων) (ἄρ.) νς dη
 κτητόρων (ἄρ.) Ἀωβ dξδ
 χερσوپαραδίσων (ἄρ.) οη ιςλβ
 ὧν
 ταμιακ(ῶν) αουνδικ(ιων) (ἄρ.) ιγ η'
 55 κτητόρων (ἄρ.) ξδd η[ιςλβ]
 (γίνονται) χ(έρσου) αἱ προκ(είμηναι)
 Col. iii
 → χερς[α]μπέλου (ἄρ.) φηγ. []
 χερσوپαραδίσων (ἄρ.) ιγ ∠η.
 χέρσου ἀλμυ[ρί]δος καὶ ξυλ(ίτιδος) (ἄρ.) χξς ∠d[λβ]ξδ
 60 (γίνονται) τῆς τοπ(αρχίας) [π]αcῶν εἰδεῶν

(ἄρ.) (μυρ.) α[Ε'Ε']λγ ∠dηιςλβ

ὧν ἔστιν [τὸ κα]τὰ κώμην

κώμης Ψεν. .

συνήχθησαν ἐνεργοῦς γῆς ἀπο-

- 65 γεγραμμένης (ἄρ.) υξα dλβ
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ιβ ηλβξδ
 χέρσου ἀπογεγραμμένης (ἄρ.) κα ς'
 οὕτως
 βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς (ἄρ.) υνγ ηις
 70 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) θ η. .
 παραδίσων ἐναρ[έ]των (ἄρ.) γ dηιςλβ
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) dιςξδ
 κυαμῶνος ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ε η'
 (γίνονται) τάξεως παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) η ∠ηλβ
 75 χέρσου βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) κα ς'
 (γίνονται) κώμης παcῶν εἰδεῶν
 (ἄρ.) υπγ dλβ

Col. iv

αἱ οὐ(σαι) κοινοῦ κώμης Ψεν. . . .

Πετοσεῖριος Πετοσεῖριος καὶ Ὀρσιήσι[ος]

- 80 μητρός Ἀρτεμίτος κωμαρχῶν καὶ Πετ[
 Πετοσεῖριος ὀριοδίκτου καὶ Ὡρου Πετεμούνι[ος]
 καὶ Ἀράχθου Πετοσεῖριος καὶ Πετε. β. .
 ριος μειζόνων κώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης

- 85 ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κατὰ κοίτην
 α κοί(τη) ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) οβ ις'' παραδ(ίcων) (ἄρ.) λβ'' β κοί(τη)
 ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) μβ dιςλβ παραδ(ίcων) (ἄρ.) λβ'' γ κοί(τη) ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.)
 ιγ dλβ
 δ κοί(τη) ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) λζ ∠dηξδ παραδ(ίcων) (ἄρ.) d' ε κοί(τη)
 ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ξα ∠dηιςλβ παραδ(ίcων) (ἄρ.) ςις'' ς κοί(τη) ἐsp(αρμένης)
 (ἄρ.) μβ ∠dη'
 90 παραδ(ίcων) (ἄρ.) d' ζ κοί(τη) ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ι ηιςξδ παραδ(ίcων)
 (ἄρ.) ις'' η κοί(τη) ἐsp(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) κγ ∠ηλβ παραδ(ίcων) (ἄρ.) ξδ

θ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιθ δ̄ηις
 ι κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) θ ια κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) μη λβ'' παραδ(ίτων)
 (ἄρ.) []''
 ιβ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ι δ' παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) η̄ις ιγ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης)
 (ἄρ.) ιβ ∠d
 95 παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) η̄ις λβ ιδ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιβ δ̄ηις παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) .
 ιε κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) κη ∠ηλβ χέρσου (ἄρ.) ιε ις'' ις κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρ-
 μένης) (ἄρ.) .
 παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) δ̄ηις ιζ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) β ∠η παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) η'
 ιη κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) γ χ(έρσου) (ἄρ.) γ κ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) δ ις''
 χ(έρσου) (ἄρ.) γ δ̄η
 κα κοί(τη) κναμῶνος (ἄρ.) ε η'
 100 (γίνονται) αἱ προκ(είμηναι)

3206. A fragment of a Homeric lexicon, resembling that of Apollonius Sophista,
 first published by John W. Shumaker, *BASP* 7 (1970) 59–65, with plate, p. 66.
 29 4B. 44/C (1–3)a. 23.5 × 13.2 cm. Second century. This text stands on the back of a
 register. Accents etc. are an editorial addition.

Col. i

.
 ↓]ων
]. ό (ποιητής)
]. ν.
].

Col. ii

[δι]ακτήτην διέστησαν
 διάνδιχα διχῇ
 διᾱ από τοῦ Διὸς γένος ἔ-
 χονσα ἢ από τοῦ ἔντειμος, ἀγα-
 5 θή
 διάμῃσα διέκοψα
 διαπρήσσειν διαπερᾶν
 διακριδόν ἐξ ἐπικ[ρίσεως], δι-

ακεχωρισμένως
 10 δι' ἄκριας κατὰ τὰς ἀκρω-
 ρείας
 διδύμονε διδυμοὶ ἀδελ-
 φοὶ οὐ κεχωρισμένοι [τ]οῖς
 σώμασι. οἱ δὲ συμφυεῖς [δ]ιδυ-
 15 μοι λέγονται
 διέπουνσι διαπονοῦσι καὶ ἐ-
 νεργοῦσι
 διεξίμηναι διεξελθεῖν
 [δι]εῖρεαι διερωτᾶς
 20 [δι]έχευαν διεμέρισαν εἰς με-
 [γ]άλα μέρη
 [δι]έσχεν διῆλθεν
 [δι]έτμαγον διεχώρισαν
 [διερ]όν ὑγρόν
 25 [δίεν]ται [δι]ώκουνται
 [διει]πετέο[ς] διαπέτασμα καὶ
 [π]λάτο[ς] ἔχοντος ἢ οἰονεῖ
 [χ]ειμαρρό[ου]
 [διε]πέφραδ[εν] ἐπετείλατο
 30 [διέ]πρησεν διεπέρασεν
 [δι]ελίχας ἐν δειλινῇ δι.
 []ξανω
 [δι]επράθομεν ἐπορθήσα-
 μεν
 35 [δι]ζήμενη [ζ]ητοῦσα
 [δί]ηται δι[ώξει]
 [δι]ήρ[ε]αν δι[εν]ήξαντο
 [διή]φ[υ]εν ἐξήντηλυσεν
 [δικ]απρόλ[ους] δικ[α]στάς
 40 [δικ]λίδες δίθυρ[οι]
 [δ]εινεῖν κυστ[ρέφει]ν
 [δ]εινωτήν [ς]τρο[γγύλην]
 [δ]εινωτοῖσιν λεχέ[εσσι] δει-

- νωτοῖς καὶ τρογγύλοις] ἀ-
 45 πὸ τῆς κλινοπόρων
 [πε]ριφερ[εία]ς
 [δίων] ἐ[δ]ιώχθησαν
 [δῖος] ἀπὸ Διὸς τὸ γένος
 [ἔχων]
 50 [διοτρεφέων] ἀπὸ Διὸς ἐλ-
 [κόντων τὸ γέν]ος ἢ ἀγαθῶ[ν]
 [c. 12 ἐκτα]δίην κ. .
 [c. 10]μεγάλην

12 l. διδυμάονε 25 l. διώκονται

3207. Vocabulary to Homer, *Iliad* I 4-18, first published by F. Carter Philips, Jr., *BASP* 8 (1971) 91-8, with plate, p. 95. 8 1B. 189/E (1-3)a. 21.0 × 6.4 cm. Third century. Accents etc. are an editorial addition.

- Front ↓
 (4) [ἐλώρια: σπαράγματα,] ἐλκύματα
 (5) [οἰωνοῖσι: σαρ]κοφάγοις ὀρ' νέοις'
 (6) [ἐρίσαντε: φιλον]εικήσαντες
 (5) [ἐτελείετο: ἐτελει]οῦτο
 (6) 5 [ἐξ οὗ δῆ: ἀφ' οὗ] δὴ χρόνου
 (6) [τὰ πρῶτα: πρ]ῶτον
 (6) [διαστήτην: διές]τησαν, δυϊκῶς
 (7) [Ἀτρείδης: ὁ Ἀτρέ]ως παῖς Ἀγαμέμνων'
 (7) [ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν: βασι]λεύς
 (7) 10 [δῖος: ἐν]δοξος
 (8) [cφω]ε: αὐτούς:
 (8) [ἔριδι: φιλ]ορνεικία
 (8) [ξυνέηκε: κυ]νέβαλεν
 (9) [Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς νί]ός: ὁ Ἀπόλλων
 (9) 15 [ὁ γάρ: οὗ]τως γάρ[ρ]

7 δυϊκῶς 15 l. οὔτος

- (9) [βασιλῆι: β]ασιλεῖ
 (9) [χολωθείς: ὀρ]γισθείς
 (10) [νοῦσον: ν]όσον
 (10) [ἀνὰ στρατόν: κ]ατὰ τὸ σ[τρ]α-
 20 [τό]πεδον
 (10) [ᾠρσε: ἐ]φώρμησεν
 (10) [κακὴν: κα]κωτικὴν
 (10) [ὀλέκοντο: ἀπ]ώλλυν[τ]ο
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 (11) Χρύσην: [
 (11) ἡτίμησεν[:
 (11) ἀρητῆρα[:
 (12) 5 Ἀτρείδης[:
 (12) θοάς: τα[χ]είας
 (13) λυσόμεν[ος]:
 (13) θύγατρα[:
 (13) ἀπερείς[ι]:
 (14) 10 στέμματ[:
 (14) ἐκηβόλ[ου]:
 (15) χρυσέω[:
 (14) ἐν χερσ[ίν]:
 (15) σκήπτρ[ω]:
 (15) 15 ἐλίσσεται[:
 (16) Ἀτρείδα[: Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ
 Μέ[νε]λαον
 (16) μάλιστα[:
 (16) κοσμήτ[ορ]:
 (17) 20 ἐνκνήμ[ιδες]:
 (18) δοῖεν [
 (18) Ὀλύμπια [δῶματ' ἔχοντες:
 οἱ τὸν [Ὀλυμπον κατοικοῦν-
 τες θεοί
 25 ἐστιν [
 α θεῶ[ν]

3208. A Latin letter, first published by Miss Virginia Brown, *BICS* 17 (1970) 136-43, with plate (IV). 34 4B. 76/L (2-3)a. 18 × 10 cm. Reign of Augustus?

→ Suneros. Chio suo. plur(imam). sal(utem). s(i). u(ales) b(ene). Theo adduxsit. ad. me. Ohapim

regium. mensularium. oxsyrychitem. qui quidem. mecum. est. locutus
de. inprobate. Epaphraes. itaque. nihil. ultra. loquor. quam. [[no]]
ne patiarus. te. propter. illos. perire. crede. mihi. nimia. bonitas
5 perniciēs. homin[i]bus est. uel. maxsuma'. deinde. ipse. tibi. de. monstrabit
qu[i]t. rei. sit. qum. illum ad te. uocareis. set. perseruera
qui. de. tam pusilla. summa. tam. magnum. lucrum. facit
dominum. occidere. uolt. deinde. ego. clamare. debeo. siquod. uideo
deuom. atque. hominum. [[fidem. si. tu. [. . .] ista. non. cuibis]]
10 tuum. erit. uindicare. ne. alio. libeat. facere vac.

On the back: → Chio. Caesaris

1 l. Syneros, adduxit 2 l. Oxyrhynchitem 3 l. Epaphrae 4 l. patiaris 5 l.
maxima, tibi 6 l. quid, cum, uocaris, sed, perseuera 8 l. uult 9 l. diuum, quibus or
cuius? 10 l. alii

'Syneros to his friend Chius very many greetings. If you are well, fine. Theon brought to me Ohapim, the public banker of Oxyrhynchus, who spoke with me concerning Epaphras' wickedness. Therefore I say nothing more than "do not let yourself come to ruin on their account". Believe me, excessive generosity brings disaster, perhaps more than anything else, on men. He himself will show you later the meaning of the affair when you have summoned him to you. But stick to it: he who makes so great a profit from so trifling a sum is willing to kill his master. Then I ought to cry out, if my perceptions are to be trusted, "Heaven and earth!" It will be your task to exact punishment lest it prove attractive to another to do it.'

Interpunctuations: all interpunctuations are printed as dots on the line. Most are so placed in the original, but a few (arbitrarily? see Plate) are in the medial position. Many are immediately before the word following them rather than after the preceding word.

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and *καί* are not indexed.

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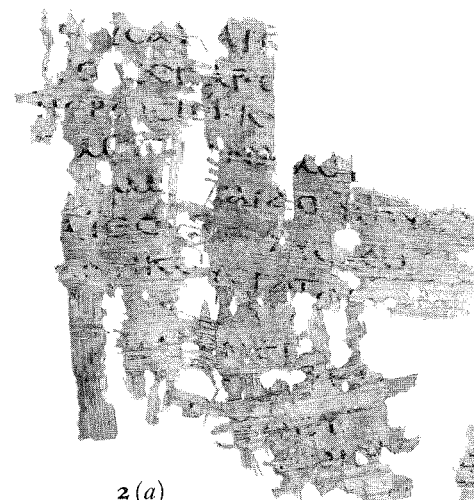
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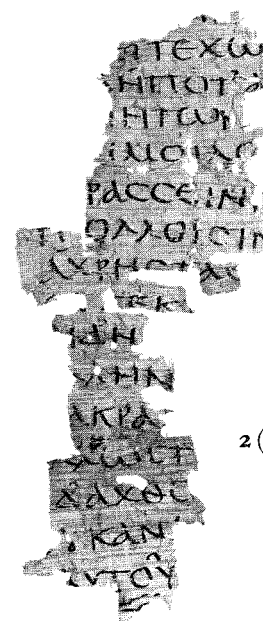
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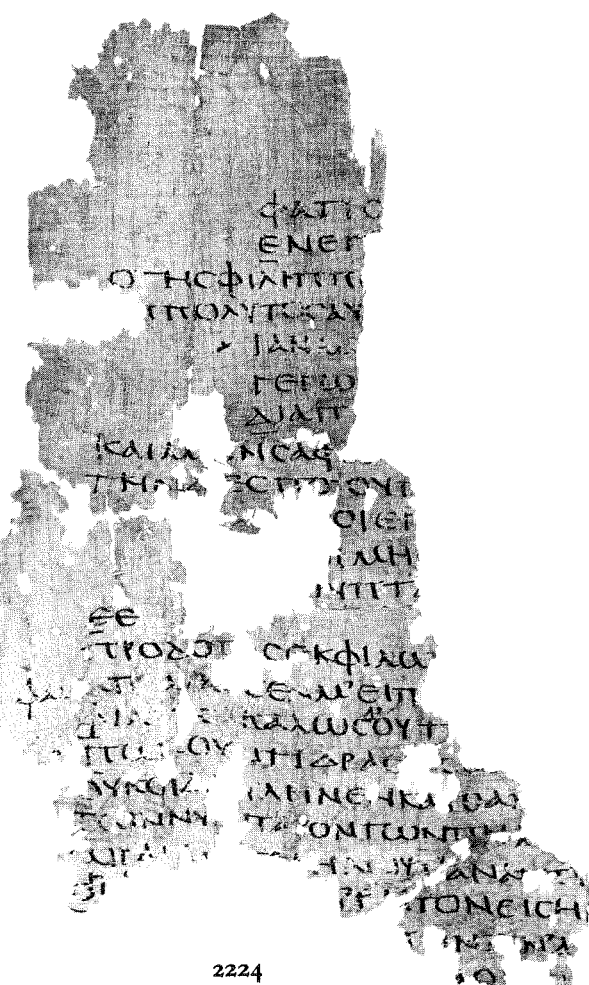
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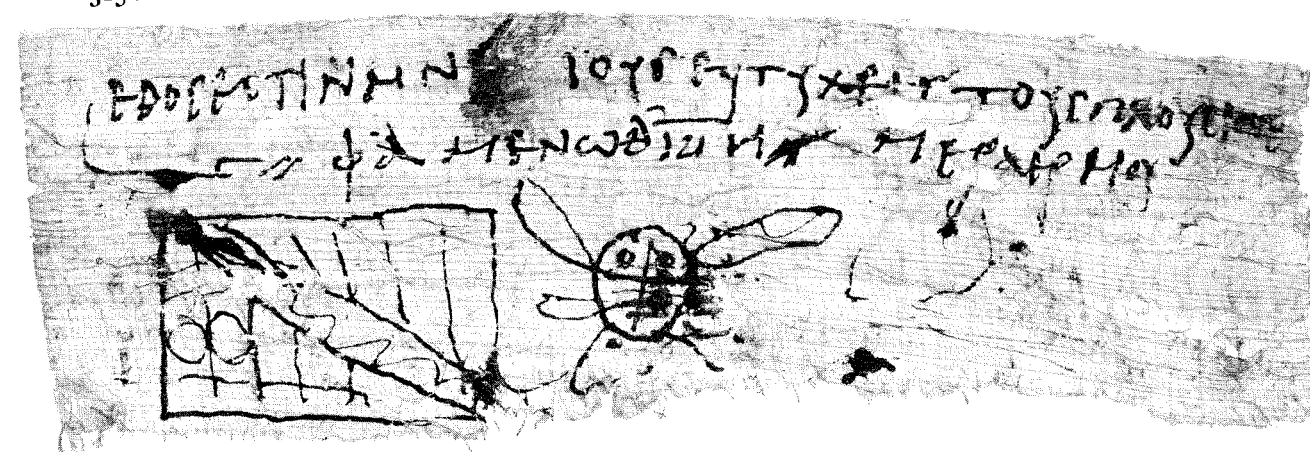


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Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, likely from a medical or scientific treatise. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage.

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Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, likely from a medical or scientific treatise. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage.

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Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, likely from a medical or scientific treatise. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage.

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Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, likely from a medical or scientific treatise. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage.

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